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EDITORIAL ANNOUNCEMENT

The harassing number and variety of subjects on which the members of the Board of Editors are called upon to pass have seemed to require an increase in the size of the Board. This extension should probably go beyond the mere replacement of editors whose terms have expired. In keeping with this idea Mr. Irving A. Leonard, Brown University, and Mr. Charles E. Nowell, University of Illinois, were elected at Chicago on December 30, 1941. The choice of these two able men is announced with pride and satisfaction. Mr. Roscoe R. Hill, at the insistence of the Managing Editor, agreed to stay on the active Board because he had assumed responsibility for editing the REVIEW a part of the time during the sabbatical leave of the Managing Editor which begins in February, 1942. Mr. J. Fred Rippy, who has been actively associated with the publication almost continuously since its revival in 1926, was elected advisory editor to fill the vacancy created by the sad and unexpected death of Professor Charles E. Chapman to whose memory this issue is dedicated.

Since this publication is edited without the aid of a formal staff, every issue of it is dependent in some way upon men whose names do not appear on the editorial page. Mr. Chester L. Guthrie, of The National Archives, has again aided in a vital way with many notes to the historical news section. Other men to run literary chores willingly and efficiently are Mr. Truman Stewart, Mr. Lewis W. Bealer, Mr. Guillermo Lohmann Villena, and Dr. Rubén Vargas Ugarte, S.J.

CHARLES EDWARD CHAPMAN
1880-1941

By the death of Dr. Charles Edward Chapman on November 17, 1941, at Berkeley, California, THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW has lost another of its "founding fathers." In fact, while never editor of the REVIEW, in one respect Dr. Chapman was *the* founder, for it was he who called the meeting, during the sessions of the American Historical Association at Cincinnati in 1916, at which the decision was made to establish the REVIEW. He was a member of the original Board of Editors (1917-1919) and from 1922 to the day of his death he served as an Advisory Editor.

Great indeed were his contributions to the REVIEW, but even more marked were his achievements in the field of Hispanic-American history. Out of his experiences in Spain (he was Native Sons Traveling Fellow, 1912-1914) came his *Founding of Spanish California* (1916), *A History of Spain* (1917), *Catalogue of Materials in the Archivo General de Indias for the History of the Pacific Coast and the American Southwest* (1919) and *A History of California—the Spanish Period* (1921). Since catholicity of interests was one of Dr. Chapman's outstanding characteristics, it is not surprising that with time he turned from Spain and North America to the Caribbean and South America. In 1916 he represented the University of California at the American Congress of

Bibliography and History which met at Buenos Aires (in 1913 he had represented the same institution at the Majorca celebration of the second anniversary of Junípero Serra's birth), in 1920 he was exchange professor in Santiago de Chile and five years later he spent considerable time in Cuba. From these peregrinations came *A Californian in South America* (1917), *A History of the Cuban Republic* (1927), *Colonial Hispanic America—A History* (1933), and *Republican Hispanic America—A History* (1937).

Unlike many scholars Dr. Chapman was a real teacher, a man outstanding in his ability to stimulate and interest his students. His undergraduate courses at the University of California (where he began as an assistant in 1910 and in 1927 became Professor of History) were exceedingly popular. It was, however, in his Graduate Seminar that he achieved his greatest success. His exacting methods coupled with a marked originality (no member of his seminars will ever forget "The Man from Boston") gave his students a training in historical methodology which may best be summed up in a statement by the REVIEW's managing editor to the effect that Dr. Chapman "was a pillar of fire by night to me." The reader who would know more about his methods can well go to the *Pacific Historical Review* (Vol. III, pp. 113-129, June, 1934) where is published the address occasioned by his presidency (1933) of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association.

Along with his insistence on extreme accuracy went a constant flow of the milk of human kindness with the result that the barbs of criticism did not wound but rather stimulated further endeavor. As a result his students looked upon him not only as mentor but also as friend.

His ability to be a friend was augmented undoubtedly by the fact that his fund of experiences was extremely broad. His B.A. at Tufts (1902) was followed by a law degree from Harvard (1905) and a Ph.D. at California (1915). In between times he learned something of business from employment with the United Railways and Western Electric, secured admission to the bars of Massachusetts and California (1906), taught in Riverside (California) High School (1909-1910),

and at odd times played professional baseball. Although he never developed major league capacity, he was a keen student of the national pastime, so keen in fact that he was Pacific Coast Scout for the St. Louis Cardinals (N. L.) from 1921 to 1932 and for the Cincinnati Reds (N. L.) from 1932 to his death. For some years after tennis and golf became a bit too strenuous he took his athletics vicariously and his success in managing sandlot baseball leagues meant as much to him as the publication of another erudite volume.

His sudden death came from a heart attack and was most unexpected. It has left his friends quite unable to realize that he has gone. They can only say in the language which had become to him almost a second tongue,

“Que se quede con Dios,
Caballero erudito, maestro y amigo.”

OSGOOD HARDY.

Occidental College.

BEST SELLERS OF THE LIMA BOOK TRADE, 1583

I

By 1583 viceregal Peru had emerged from the turmoil and anarchy of the first decades after the conquest and Lima, its capital which Pizarro had founded in 1535, was settling down to its appointed destiny as the administrative core and cultural arbiter of a vast empire embracing much of the continent of South America. The rival factions of conquerors, who had lived by the sword in their bloody quarrels over the control of the rich hinterland, had, for the most part, perished by that weapon and in their place were soberer elements engaged in the more prosaic tasks of the economic exploitation of the land and the religious conversion of its inhabitants. Violence had yielded to these gentler activities and more orderly habits of civilized life, which even included extensive reading of books, now prevailed. The "City of the Kings" was, in reality, transformed from a lair of brutal ruffians wrangling over the spoils of conquest to the most important cultural center of the entire southern continent. Already it enjoyed considerable literary activity of its own and, judging by a book-order of that year, it claimed a public which demanded the best and most recent products of Spain's printing presses.

This evolution was greatly accelerated in 1569 by the arrival in Peru of the great if somewhat humorless administrator, the Viceroy Francisco de Toledo, whose decisive character and organizing genius brought to an end during his twelve-year rule the period of incessant strife throughout the realm.¹ By crushing the imperial family of the Incas the conquest of the Indians was virtually completed. By establishing the absolute and unquestioned sway of the Spanish

¹ Cf. Roberto Levillier, *Don Francisco de Toledo, supremo organizador del Perú. Su vida, su obra. 1515-1582* (2 vols., Madrid, 1935); Arthur F. Zimmerman, *Francisco de Toledo, Fifth Viceroy of Peru, 1569-1581* (Caldwell, Idaho, 1938).

Hapsburgs, thus compelling lingering dissident elements among the Peninsular conquerors to acknowledge a power above that of their own greed and ambition, this great pro-consul of Philip II gave the Viceroyalty of Peru the pattern and form of colonial government which endured almost unchanged for more than two centuries. Indeed, so well implanted was the new régime that the death in office of his less able successor in the year of 1583 produced scarcely a tremor in the stability of the existing order.²

With peace came prosperity and leisure for some as the rich silver mines yielded up their treasure. Though this increasing wealth inevitably tended to be concentrated in the hands of the steadily growing numbers of Spaniards pouring into the realm, some measure of economic well-being filtered through to the now considerable Creole element and even to the heterogeneous population of Indians, Negroes, and mixed elements forming a complex society with a solidifying hierarchy of castes and classes. By 1583 the general prosperity appears to have mitigated, at least in the towns of the viceroyalty, the hard lot of the lowly and exploited Indians. A decree of the following year strictly forbidding the natives, male and female, from wearing silken garments, cambric shirts, velvet shoes, silk slippers, gold and silver ornaments on penalty of confiscation suggests that many of the natives possessed the means of aping the manners and dress of their white overlords.³ Indeed, such apt pupils of the conquerors were the Indians that they were already threatening to out-distance the Spaniards in a marked preference for gay attire and an associated indisposition to perform manual labor!

By 1583 the dominant influence of the Church on spiritual, intellectual, and social life maintained throughout the entire colonial period was plainly evident. Members of the multiplying religious communities were displaying an understandable preference for the comforts and refinements of the capital as against the hardships and isolation of work in the barren

² Martín Enríquez de Almanza, Viceroy of Peru from 1581 to 1583, and formerly Viceroy of New Spain.

³ Fernando Montesinos, *Anales del Perú* (edition of Víctor M. Maúrtua, 2 vols., Madrid, 1906), II, 95-96.

heights of the Sierra where dwelled the largest number of their Indian charges. Thus, to an enlarging leisure class of laymen, were added many of the clergy who were more devoted to idleness than to contemplation, and more addicted to political activities in the capital than to proselyting in the wilderness. This group, literate and leisured, already constituted a profitable market for booksellers of Lima who endeavored to provide their trade with the most recent and desired writings of Spanish authors, whether light fiction or ponderous theology. The more earnest members of the Church were also, of course, important customers, particularly at this time when the Counter-Reformation was bringing forth the great literature of the mystics and the apologists. In that very year in Lima a great prelate, later beatified and canonized, Don Toribio Alfonso Mogrovejo, was instilling renewed enthusiasm in the colonial Church for its great mission of christianizing the native wards of the Spanish Crown. This great figure, a layman of Spain suddenly transformed by some strange alchemy into the Archbishop of Peru, had come to his diocese in 1581 where his practical piety, austere life, and unremitting devotion to his duties were to gain lasting veneration for his name in Peru and inspire at least one colonial playwright to compose a respectful *comedia* based on his life and work.⁴ One of his first acts was to summon to the Third Church Council of Lima in 1582 bishops from such vast distances as those represented by the dioceses of Panama, Nicaragua, Popayán, Quito, Cuzco, Chuquisaca, Santiago de Chile, Tucumán, and Paraguay for the purpose of regulating ecclesiastical affairs and facilitating missionary work among the Indians by the preparation of manuals, catechisms, and books of devotion in the native languages. This great assembly was still in session late in the year of 1583.⁵

⁴ In the *Diario de Lima de Juan Antonio Suardo, 1629-1639* (edition of Rubén Vargas Ugarte, S.J., 2 vols., Lima, 1936), the diarist reported under date of July 15, 1634, the performance at the viceroy's palace of a play entitled "Prelado de las Indias, Don Toribio Alfonso Mogrovexo, Arzobispo" without, however, mentioning the playwright's name. A recent study of this prelate is: Pedro Leturia, "Toribio Alfonso Mogrovejo, segundo Arzobispo de Lima," *El clero y las misiones* (Vatican City), II (1940), 21-34; 92-102; 157-167.

⁵ Philip A. Means, *Fall of the Inca Empire* (New York, 1932), p. 175.

Cultural life in the Lima of 1583 had already assumed the hue and quality that long made it a leading center of transplanted Spanish culture in the New World. Despite some competition from the monasteries and a recently founded Jesuit *colegio* the University of San Marcos, authorized by imperial decree in 1551, was now, after some early hesitation, firmly established as an important seat of higher learning and was attracting to its faculty some of the finest intellects of Spain and Peru. The most conspicuous of these was the celebrated Jesuit scientist, philosopher and teacher, Father José de Acosta, who took an important part in the proceedings of the Third Church Council in Lima while occupying the Chair of Scriptural Writings at the University. It was during these years in Peru that he composed the first two books of his famous *Historia natural y moral de Indias*.⁶ This work was the first attempt to make a systematic and scientific account of the physical geography and natural history of the American continent, and its success earned for its author the designation "the Pliny of the New World." Moreover, Lima and the Viceroyalty of Peru had, by 1583, their own pleiad of poets who, whatever their merits—and these are far from clear—were numerous enough and sufficiently vocal to be heard and praised in the far-off motherland. Indeed, they even received the plaudits of Spain's greatest literary genius, a certain Miguel de Cervantes who inserted in his pastoral novel *La Galatea*, first published in 1585, a poem called *Canto de Calíope* in which he lists with praise the names of eleven bards in Peru apparently known to him.⁷

⁶ At the end of Book II of this work Acosta wrote: "... que los dos libros precedentes se escribieron en latín, estando en el Perú, y así hablan de las cosas de Indias como de cosas presentes." Cf. Manuel Moreyra, "El padre José de Acosta y su labor intelectual," *Mercurio peruano*, año xv (1940), No. 163, pp. 546-553. A new edition of the *Historia natural y moral de Indias* with a preliminary study by Edmundo O'Gorman was published in Mexico City in 1940 by the Fondo de Cultura Económica. There is an interesting chapter on Acosta and an analysis of his writings in Felipe Barreda y Laos, *Vida intelectual del virreinato del Perú* (Buenos Aires, 1937), pp. 99-125. Concerning Acosta's repeated requests to serve in the Indies and his journey there, see León Lopetegui, S.J. "Vocación de Indias del padre José de Acosta," *Revista de Indias* (Spain), año I (1940), No. 2, pp. 83-102.

⁷ José Toribio Medina, *Escritores americanos celebrados por Cervantes en el Canto de Calíope* (Santiago de Chile, 1926).

By 1583 the opulence of the City of Kings permitted a more lavish indulgence of the universal taste for elaborate public spectacles; the populace was no longer content with the crude performances of *autos sacramentales* which it had witnessed on Corpus Christi day and on other religious occasions ever since the Conquest. Moreover, it was ripe for the more secular form of drama then on the eve of its great development in Spain and soon to reach Peru. The immediate demand for more tasteful and artistic representations of sacred themes during religious festivals was met in 1582 by a self styled "maestro del arte cómico" who supervised the extraordinarily solemn and impressive performance of the Corpus Christi play of that year. This individual, whose name was Francisco de Morales, possessed exceptional skill as a theatrical director which he soon transferred to the secular theater in Lima.⁸ It was he who gave the viceregal capital its first *corral de comedias* or showhouse and it was he who awoke the *limeño* public to the possibilities of a new diversion destined to become the passion of all classes of colonial society. Who knows but what the copies of the "comedias de Lope de Rueda" (118)⁹ which a book-dealer of Lima ordered from Spain that year of 1583 were to serve as script to this theatrical *empresario* and his company of players in the practice of their art?

A still more significant indication of the cultural majority to which the viceregal capital of Peru was attaining in 1583 was the introduction of the printing press. Even as a bookseller was making out his large order of volumes to be imported from Spain that year an Italian printer, Antonio Ricardo, recently arrived in Lima, had set up his shop and was probably at work arranging type for the first printed work produced in the realm, the *Doctrina Christiana y*

⁸ Cf. Guillermo Lohmann Villena, "El teatro en Lima en el siglo XVI," Instituto de investigaciones históricas, Universidad Católica, *Cuadernos de Estudio* (Lima, 1939), I, 45-74. Also the same author's "Apuntes sobre el arte dramático en Lima durante el virreinato," *Tres* (Lima, 1940), No. 7, pp. 28-57, and particularly his *Historia del arte dramático en Lima durante el virreinato. Siglos XVI y XVII* (Lima, 1941), pp. 43 *et seq.*

⁹ The numbers in parentheses refer to the works listed in the document reproduced in the appendix of this study.

Catequismo, though royal authorization of a press in the Vice-royalty had not yet been received. One of the accomplishments of Archbishop Mogrovejo and the Third Church Council still in session in Lima was the preparation of a catechism, and it is known that the actual printing of this work began well in advance of the receipt of the Royal Decree of Philip II dated August 7, 1584, granting the Piamontese printer the sole right to exercise his technical profession in the Vice-royalty of Peru.¹⁰

But if Lima had published no books of its own by 1583 it had long been receiving printed literature of all kinds from the mother country. Even amidst the clamor and violence of civil strife of the early days of the city's existence some of its citizens found sufficient repose and freedom from distraction to read books, including such banned literature as the universally popular romances of chivalry. Only eight years after Pizarro had founded the capital on the banks of the Rimac River the Audiencia of Lima received strict orders to prohibit the entry into Peru of any of these "libros de historias profanas," the reading of which was regarded not only as a waste of time but positively harmful.¹¹ Yet notarial records soon after this date give clear indications that among the varied assortment of books in the possession of laymen and clergymen alike there was a goodly representation of such "historias profanas" as that of *Amadís de Gaula*, a novel specifically named in the prohibitory legislation, and the innumerable others recounting the deeds of his progeny and rivals. Printed literature of all sorts was, therefore, found in Lima long before that city had settled down to the peaceful monotony which characterized so much of the colonial period.

¹⁰ The most recent discussion of the introduction of the printing press in Lima is that of José Torre Revello, *Orígenes de la imprenta en España y su desarrollo en la América Española* (Buenos Aires, 1940). The first actually completed printed work from the Lima press was the *Pragmática sobre los diez días del año*, but the *Doctrina cristiana* was begun first, the work being interrupted to permit the printing of the first named. Documents relating to the first printer and press in Lima are reproduced in José Toribio Medina, *La imprenta en Lima* (4 vols., Santiago de Chile, 1904-07), I, appendix, pp. 5-18.

¹¹ Genaro García, *Documentos inéditos o muy raros para la historia de México*, 35 vols., México, 1905-1911, XV ("El clero de México durante la dominación española"), p. 99.

In the years leading up to 1583 the capital continued to receive fresh increments of Spanish adventurers, many well educated and of aristocratic origin, while the wealthy but politically powerless Creole class and the clergy increased in numbers. These elements, together with a few others taught to read, gave the viceregal capital a larger literate public than that possessed by some of the cities of Spain and profit-minded merchants of Lima quickly found it to their advantage to include substantial orders of printed volumes among the many manufactured wares imported from the mother country. Extant records in the archives of Seville, Lima, and Mexico City particularly reveal that amazingly large quantities of books, fictional and secular as well as religious in character, were thus imported. These documents, mainly *registros* or ship-manifests of the annual fleets sent to the New World, wills, and inventories, also bear witness to the fact that the public, eager to while away its leisure or stimulate its mind with the products of writers of Spain, the cultural sun which warmed its world, was far more numerous than hitherto appreciated. One such record preserved in the National Archive of Peru at Lima is of unique interest in that it is a list of books to be purchased in Spain rather than an invoice or receipt of a shipment sent. Its special value, therefore, lies in the insight it offers into the current tastes of the *limeño* book-buyers at the time it was drawn up. The document in question¹² is an agreement of Juan Jiménez del Río, a book-seller of "la muy noble y muy leal ciudad de los reyes," made on February 22, 1583, with a certain Francisco de la Hoz who was about to depart for Spain, under which the latter obligated himself to bring back to Lima on his return from abroad a considerable quantity of books whose titles are listed and whose specifications as to binding are indicated. Such a business arrangement was common enough in the colonial days when the hazards of importation were so great; merchants usually found it expedient to entrust such commissions to agents personally known to them and frequently gave their representatives full power of attorney. In drawing up the list of volumes to be purchased there is little doubt that

¹² Reproduced in the appendix.

the book-dealer, Jiménez del Río, set down the titles for which he had received requests from his trade or which he had found by experience met with the readiest sale among his clientele. It is fair, then, to consider this collection of works as those which, in the Lima market of 1583, were the acknowledged "best sellers," and as such they throw some light on the state of culture existing in the viceregal capital at that time. Though there is no evidence available that the books in question were actually brought back to Lima, it is reasonable to suppose that the order was filled in whole or in part. Whether this was the case or not, the agreement of Juan Jiménez del Río and Francisco de la Hoz with its attached book-list loses none of its value as an index of the literary tastes of the limeño book-buying public in that year of grace, 1583.

II

An analysis of the book-order presents difficulties not encountered in other colonial documents studied relating to shipments and inventories of printed works.¹³ The total number of volumes represented, for example, cannot be clearly stated since sets of works in an indeterminate number of volumes were ordered and Hoz was authorized to purchase any continuations or other writings by certain authors. A fair estimate of the total is, perhaps, a little under two thousand books, to which should be added the twenty reams of "menu-dencias" or some 2,880 booklets and loose sheets containing lives of saints, narrative ballads, short sentimental tales,

¹³ Colonial book lists are reproduced in Francisco Fernández del Castillo, *Libros y libreros en el siglo XVI* (Publicaciones del Archivo General de la Nación, VI, Mexico City, 1914); José Torre Revello, *Un catálogo impreso de libros para vender en las Indias Occidentales en el siglo XVII* (Madrid, 1930); *El libro, la imprenta y el periodismo en América durante la dominación española* (Publicaciones del Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, Núm. LXXIV, Buenos Aires, 1940); "Bibliotecas y librerías coloniales," *Boletín del Archivo de la Nación*, X (Mexico City, 1939), 661-1006; and Irving A. Leonard, *Romances of Chivalry in the Spanish Indies, with Some Registros of Shipments of Books to the Spanish Colonies* (Berkeley, 1933); "A shipment of comedias to the Indies," *Hispania Review*, II (1934), 39-50; "Don Quixote and the Book Trade in Lima, 1606," *ibid.*, VIII (1940), 285-304; Otis H. Green and Irving A. Leonard, "On the Book Trade in Mexico City, 1600. A chapter in cultural history," *ibid.*, IX (1941), 1-40; Leonard, "On the Cuzco Book Trade, 1606," *ibid.*, IX (1941), 359-375.

children's stories, almanacs, etc. Details of price are lacking but more data than usual are offered on types of binding, place of publication, etc.

Of particular interest is the variety of literature indicated by the approximately 135 titles in the list (in some cases separate parts of a given work appear as separate items) and also by the short pieces in the "menudencias," since both clearly refute, if any refutation is still necessary, the oft repeated and long credited assertions of historians, critics, and others that Spanish authorities sought to keep out of the colonies any literature save that of approved theological character.¹⁴ Jiménez del Río's order called for the varied types of works which had already been available in the Lima market and for which he found a continuing demand among his customers. A cursory examination of the titles ordered should therefore convince the most skeptical that the expatriated Spaniards, Creoles, and other literate elements of colonial society had access to and could enjoy the same books as did the majority of their kinsmen in contemporary Spain itself; moreover, a striking similarity of literary preferences is noted. It will also be found that the list offers, on the whole, a representative selection of sixteenth-century literature, though it is remarkable for the relatively small percentage

"... the Americans [Spanish America] could not read poetry or novels or any work intended for entertainment or diversion. According to the express wording of the law, which was not repealed, the colonists would not have been able to enjoy *Don Quixote*, or the plays of Lope de Vega or Calderón" (Miguel Luis Amunátegui, *Los precursores de la Independencia de Chile*, I, 224, quoted in José Toribio Medina, *Biblioteca Hispano-Americanana*, VI, xxvii-xxviii). "No books except of a certain sort ever came to the colonies which were so jealously guarded: they wanted to make us a race of hermits and they made us a race of revolutionists" (José María Vergara y Vergara, *Historia de la literatura en Nueva Granada*, quoted in Vicente G. Quesada, *La vida intelectual en la América española durante los siglos XVI, XVII, y XVIII*, Buenos Aires, 1910), p. 75. "... such works [books of fiction], however, constituted a great part of the literature of the mother country at the time of this decree, by which it is evident that such a prohibition was equivalent to depriving us Americans of all reading assuming that all were not able or wished to read religious and juridical works" (Quesada, *op. cit.*, 61). "... by command of the kings of Spain the colonists in America were forbidden under the severest penalties from reading what were called books of fiction, poetry, novels, plays, etc. It was not possible to read Cervantes, Vega, Quevedo, Moreto" (José Toribio Medina, *Historia de la literatura colonial de Chile*, p. 27).

of purely religious works included. If, for the sake of convenience, the titles are distributed into three arbitrary classifications (in some cases a difficult and misleading operation) such as: (1) ecclesiastical, (2) secular (non-religious non-fiction), and (3) belles-lettres, the comparative ratios are surprising when placed against those of other book-lists studied. Ordinarily, theological and devotional writings constituted around seventy-five per cent of the whole, with belles-lettres fluctuating between almost none and fifteen per cent. In Jiménez del Río's order the percentages are approximately twenty-four per cent for belles-lettres, thirty-two per cent for non-fiction, while ecclesiastical writings furnish less than half of the whole order or in the neighborhood of forty-four per cent. With the city full of prelates and dignitaries from remote parts of the continent attending the Third Church Council at Lima still in session, it is a little curious that the book-dealer did not find it necessary to replenish more his stock of theological and religious works.

Of greater significance is the fact that more than half of the titles which Jiménez del Río found that his trade wanted were of the character of those which some historians have declared were accessible to colonists only as contraband! Perhaps the clearest illustration of this misapprehension is that offered by the fantastic romances of chivalry already mentioned. Prohibitory decrees against this type of fiction were issued as early as 1531 and possibly earlier and were repeated at intervals but with little effect.¹⁵ The fact that a Lima book-seller made public his intention of ordering representatives of this banned literature (20, 42, 45, 46, 47, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85) by recording his agreement with Francisco de la Hoz before a royal notary is evidence that the law was a dead letter—which circumstance suggests the danger inherent in basing the writing of history on extant legislation.

Accepting the three categories adopted for the grouping of the titles in Jiménez del Río's order, we may omit a discussion of the strictly religious and theological works since

¹⁵ Discussions of this question are found in Leonard, *Romances of Chivalry in the Spanish Indies*, pp. 3-7, and Torre Revello, *El libro, la imprenta y el periodismo en América*, chap. II.

at no time has there been a question of their admission into the colonies and today there is probably less interest in this branch of literature. Suffice it to say, perhaps, that the writings of such great mystics of the Counter-Reformation as Fray Luis de Granada and Fray Luis de León find a conspicuous representation in this list of books found to be selling well in the Lima market of 1583. (Cf. 30, 31, 77, 114, 133.)

Of the more secular works humanistic in character history is best represented, though the diversity of titles is not impressive. The two works of which most copies were desired relate to the Catholic religion (18, 72); two others tell of the wars in Africa (75, 119); another is a chronicle of Spain (74); and another appears to be an account of the victory of Juan de Austria over the Turks at Lepanto (117). The absence from the list of any available history of the Indies suggests a curious lack of interest in their own world on the part of limeño readers.

Works of jurisprudence, law-codes, and manuals present a larger variety, though quantities ordered are small. The most notable title representing the first named group is undoubtedly the *De justicia et jure* (62) of the great Salamanca professor, Domingo de Soto, a colleague of Father Francisco de Victoria and almost as renowned. This work was regarded as one of the greatest of its time in the philosophy of law and, like other titles by this author (60), should be counted more properly among the philosophical writings included in Jiménez del Río's order. It is of interest to recall in passing that it was this same Domingo de Soto who presided over the famous controversy of Las Casas and Sepúlveda and who sided with the "Apostle of the Indies" in his defense of the Indians.¹⁶ The treatises of Felipus Decius (98), Antonio Gómez (102), and Parladorios (101), frequently noted on later book-lists, had a sale in the Lima of 1583 along with the famous *Siete Partidas* of Alfonso the Wise (111) and a law-code of Castile (110). Doubtless the copies of canonical and civil law (66, 67) were indispensable reference works in the Viceroyalty of Peru. Manuals or guides, called *Práticas* (40,

¹⁶ Cf. article "Domingo de Soto" in the *Enciclopedia universal ilustrada europeo-americana*.

86, 99, 100), for the instruction of aspiring advocates and scribes also had a moderate sale, particularly that of Monterroso (40) which appears on most book-lists of the period and on which its author enjoyed an exclusive monopoly of the sales in the Indies in 1583.¹⁷

Among the sciences medicine and related subjects are best represented, though a strictly limited number of copies of each title was ordered. The *De succedaneis medicamentis* of the physician and botanist Juan Fragoso (97), surgeon of Philip II; the *Libro de medicina* of Bernardus de Gordiono (96), a fifteenth-century Spanish doctor; the *Libro o práctica de cirugía* of Joannes de Vigo (94); and a work of the fourteenth-century physician, Guido de Chauliac or Chaulien, long considered a great authority and famous for his description of the Black Plague in 1348, with a commentary by a later Spanish doctor, Juan Falcó or Faucon (95) are the works requested. Only one other science (using the word in the more modern, technical sense) is represented by an important work, that of navigation, on which Pedro de Medina's *Regimiento de navegación* (135) was the standard authority in the sixteenth century. The often reprinted and translated *Examen de ingenios para las ciencias* of the philosopher Juan Huarte de San Juan (14), who thought deeply on the problems of the relations between the physical and the moral, enjoyed a greater sale in the Lima of 1583 than the more technical scientific works.¹⁷

Philosophy is such an all-embracing term that numerous works already indicated under other disciplines should be included here, notably those of Domingo de Soto. Fitting a narrower definition are a few titles, particularly the writings of Saint Thomas Aquinas (61) and the commentaries on them (63, 64) and on those of Aristotle (76, 131) by such pure Thomists as Bartolomé de Medina and Francisco de Toledo. A more eclectic philosophy is found in the works of Alejo Vanegas (121, 122).

¹⁷ The royal decree of February 5, 1569 granting Monterroso the exclusive right to print and sell his work in the Indies for a period of twenty years is reproduced in the Appendix (pp. xxi-xxii) of Torre Revello, *op. cit.*

^{17a} Cf. M. de Iriarte, *El doctor Huarte de San Juan y su "Examen de Ingenios"* (Madrid, 1935).

Most of the foregoing volumes must have appealed to a small and select group of Jiménez del Río's book-trade. Less abstract and more utilitarian literature such as miscellaneous texts and reference works found a wider sale, judging by comparatively large quantities of individual works ordered. It is not clear which of the many writings of the famous Erasmist, Juan Luis Vives, is requested in the item "100 luis biuas" (51), but it is reasonable to suppose that it refers to his *Instrucción de la mujer cristiana*, the accepted guide for the proper training and education of young ladies. In the Indies anxious colonial dames were doubtless eager to rear their daughters according to the approved fashion of the Peninsula and this manual was, perhaps, an answer to their prayers and a recommendation of their ecclesiastical counselors. In any event, the little volume sold in such quantities as to place it inevitably among the "best sellers" of the time. Incidentally, if the identification of this mysterious item is correct, there are strict injunctions in this book against the reading by young ladies of some of the very same titles such as *La Celestina* (15) and certain novels of chivalry (84) which Jiménez del Río was including elsewhere in his order.¹⁸

Another work of utilitarian character enjoying a wide sale during most of the colonial period was the famous Castilian grammar of Antonio de Nebrija, the *Arte de la lengua castellana* (50) first published in 1492. A study of all extant shipping records, invoices, and inventories might well prove that more copies of this work went to the Spanish Indies than those of any other single work. That Jiménez del Río found it among his best sellers in 1583 is indicated by the order of fifty copies. This work was doubtless serving in the diffusion of Castilian in the New World and was acting as a needed check against syntactical peculiarities which were already creeping into the transplanted Spanish of Peru and of other parts of the western hemisphere where the language of Castile was used. Dictionaries (59, 78), almanacs (3), and calendars (93) are remaining miscellaneous items of secular non-fiction appearing in the list.

¹⁸ Juan Luis Vives, *Instrucción de la mujer cristiana* (Colección Austral, No. 138, Buenos Aires, 1940), chap. V.

The assortment of *belles-lettres* in Jiménez del Río's order offers a better index of what was widely read in viceregal Peru and is, perhaps, a more accurate reflection of the leisure reading habits of sixteenth-century Spain and Spanish America. The tremendous expansion of horizons, physical and intellectual, experienced in that great period, served as a powerful stimulant to the imagination, and all the simmering lore of fantasy and magic of the Middle Ages was released with almost explosive force. The miracle of the discovery of a whole new world beyond the mysterious seas with its wonders to behold and its fabulous riches to exploit seemed to justify the human propensity, nurtured by medieval legends, to believe in the marvellous and these convictions moved men to prodigies of valor and effort. It was the century of the marvellous in fiction and a whole literature of fantastic and sentimental romances flourished in prose and in verse during much of the period. The reading of these tales was the passion of all literate classes in Spain and in its Indies, and they exerted a profound influence on the customs, habits, and morals of contemporary society. Preachers and Church dignitaries found them a menace to salvation and hotly denounced them from the pulpits. Powerful as was the institution of the Church in the affairs of the nation, it was unable to eradicate the practice of reading such "best sellers," though it prevailed upon the Crown again and again to issue prohibitory decrees. Even in the colonies where ecclesiastical control was tighter and where there was a real fear that the Indians being taught to read might, in their innocence, confuse these "*historias fingidas*" with works of alleged fact, the ban was never really effective. A swift survey of the 1583 book-order reveals the continuance of this type of reading (20, 43, 45, 46, 47, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, *menudencias*).

The first and best of these long romances, *Amadís de Gaula*, was still among the favorites in Lima, though the adventures of one of his emulators, *Belianis de Grecia*, appears to have enjoyed wider esteem. Of interest is the book-dealer's comment that the first and second parts of this novel were desired only since plenty of the third and fourth were to be had in the Lima market (80). On the whole, if Jiménez del

Río's order is an index of the "best sellers" of 1583, the choice of romances of chivalry does no great honor to the critical discrimination of the limeño public.

Next in succession is *Lepolemo o el Caballero de la Cruz* which, though regarded charitably by a later critic,¹⁹ was quickly consigned, it will be recalled, to the bonfire of Don Quixote's library.²⁰ The inferior *Príncipe Felixmarte de Hircania* had sufficient appeal to be included in the order along with a request for any sequels (85) that might have appeared subsequently. Bespeaking its exceptional popularity throughout the Indies are the twenty copies of Contreras' *Selva de aventuras* (20), a sentimental tale of two lovers which inspired *El peregrino en su patria*, a non-dramatic work of this great playwright, Lope de Vega. It is curious that this novel, so long admired in the colonies and "breathing of seriousness and propriety," should be one of the rare works of imagination placed on the Index of prohibited books by the Inquisition.²¹ And lastly, it is apparent that Spanish versions of the Italian chivalrous epics of Orlando (45, 46, 47) gave pleasure to Peruvian readers of 1583.

But the public of the viceregal capital could also appreciate the best creative literature of the mother country as witness the inclusion of the dialogued novel, *La Celestina* (15), still regarded as second only to *Don Quijote* in Spanish letters. Another masterpiece, *Lazarillo de Tormes* (27), the first of the picaresque novels which Spain gave to world literature, found similar esteem in the Lima of 1583. And Guevara's celebrated *Libro áureo de Marco Aurelio* (115, 116), which enjoyed equal favor with *Amadís de Gaula* and *La Celestina* in the popular taste of sixteenth-century Spain,²² reflects this distinction in contemporary Peru.

In a language as musical as Spanish, poetry in all its forms rivalled and exceeded in popularity the prose fiction already mentioned. Ballad collections, lyric and narrative

¹⁹ Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, *Orígenes de la novela* (4 vols., Madrid, 1925), I, ccxii.

²⁰ *Don Quijote de la Mancha*, chap. VI.

²¹ Menéndez y Pelayo, *op. cit.*, p. ccxxx.

²² Juan Hurtado and Ángel González Palencia, *Historia de la literatura española* (Madrid, 1925), p. 408.

verse often predominate in colonial lists of belles-lettres, though in this respect the Lima order of 1583 is less typical. The omnipresent *romanceros* are here limited to a non-national group (16), probably the Carlovingian cycle, though the *Cancionero* of Jorge Montemayor (113) and the works of Castillejo (26) and an unidentified version of the great epic of the Cid (48) reveal a sound taste for national themes and verse. The only indication of the *limeño* public's interest in literature concerning its own part of the world and of local inspiration are the twelve copies of the first two parts of Ercilla's epic of the campaigns against the Araucanian Indians of Chile, *La Araucana* (49). This apparent indifference to local themes and preoccupation with Spanish and European literature characterize the entire colonial period and illustrate the complete spiritual and literary as well as political and economic subordination of the colonies to the mother country.

Spanish drama in 1583 had hardly entered upon its great period, its *siglo de oro*, but already it was adumbrated even in Peru by the reading of *comedias* of Torres Naharro (27) and Lope de Rueda (118). Soon this literature of diversion would eclipse completely that of the romances of chivalry and hold a more permanent place in the affections of Spaniards and Spanish Americans alike.

In the miscellaneous assortment of essays, short tales, etc., the Lima order again reflects contemporary tastes of Spain. The rediscovery of classic poets and essayists of antiquity has recognition in the *epístolas* of Cicero and Ovid (52, 104), and the epics of Vergil (54) and Homer (120). Timoneda's popular *Patrañuelo*, a collection of twenty-two *patrañas* or anecdotes or stories, the first to be published in Spain in imitation of Italian models,²³ claimed a place among the "best sellers" of Lima along with a curious miscellany *Silva de varia lección* (42) and the *Entretenimiento de damas y galanes* (125).

Not without interest are the brief side-lights of Jiménez del Río's order on the types of binding in which *limeño* book-buyers preferred their reading matter. Ordinary trade books came bound in plain vellum which apparently resisted the hard wear to which they were subjected in the colonies. Fic-

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 415.

tion works, which doubtless passed frequently from hand to hand, were invariably bound in this material, though occasionally, as in the case of common religious writings, the order called for half the number of copies in vellum and the other part in paperboard covers, usually with gilt floral designs upon them. Larger folio volumes, ponderous theological tomes for the most part, were usually requested in wooden boards, sometimes covered with calfskin, occasionally by leather with colored, figured designs, and with book-clasps. The smaller items, the "*menudencias*," were likewise bound in vellum, though exception might be made with the *coplas* which, folded and stitched like pamphlets, were found to be acceptable.

The notarized agreement of a Lima merchant, Juan Jiménez del Río and the Spain-bound Francisco de la Hoz, on which this study is based, may well have seemed to the scribe who recorded it that day in February of 1583 a rather insignificant, routine instrument of no interest to others than the two individuals concerned. But to the scholar, rummaging in the archives nearly three and a half centuries later, this inconsequential document is a precious relic of the past, casting its meed of light on the cultural life of viceregal Peru in the great period of the sixteenth century and furnishing an index to the literary tastes of its capital less than half a century after the founding by the illiterate swine-herd and intrepid conquistador, Francisco Pizarro.

IRVING A. LEONARD.

Brown University.

DOCUMENT²⁴

Escriptura
franc^{co} de la hoz
a Ju^o xmz. del rrio

En la muy noble y muy leal zibdad de los rreyes
del piru, en beynte y dos dias del mes de hebrero,
año del señor de myll E quynyentos E ochenta E
tres años. En presencia de my, El seno. publico
de yuso escripto, parecieron pressentes franc^{co} de la hoz E Ju^o ximenez
del rrio, librero, E dixeron que Ellos se abian concertado de acuerdo

²⁴ *Protocolos*, Alonso Hernández, 1566-1583 (Archivo Nacional del Perú), fol. 1419-1422vta. I am indebted to Sr. Guillermo Lohmann of Lima for a copy of this document. Numbers in parentheses represent the consecutive numbering of

En que el dho. f^{co} de la hoz se obligaba E obligo que, de bueltaque
buelba a esta zibdad E rreyno de los rreyos despaña para adonde ba
y esta de camyno, traerá a esta ciudad todos los cuerpos de libros
siguyentes

[Copies]

- (1) 50 manual de oraciones de los nuebos Echos por collantes La
mitad dellos dorados con sus manequelas y tablas de
madera y la otra mytad llanos con flores de oro y mane-
quelas y cuero de color [Jerónimo de Campos, *or* Pedro
de Ribadeneira, *Manual de oraciones*]
- (2) 25 contentus mundi De los nuebos con calendario, los doce en
tablas de papel y flores de oro y los demás en pergamino
[Thomas a Kempis, *Contemptus mundi; Contemptus
mundi que hazía Garci Alvarez*]
- (3) 12 Reportorios de chabes De los mas nuebos en pergamino
[Gerónimo de Chaves, *Cronografía o Reportorio de los
tiempos*]
- (4) 12 deseoso de amor de dios en pergamino
[Unidentified]
- (5) 12 passio duorum en pergamino [*Tratado de contemplaciones
de la pasion llamado Passio Duorum*]
- (6) 12 suabilidad de dios de orozco en pergamino [Alonso de
Orozco, *Libro de la suavidad de Dios*]
- (7) 12 san Juan elimaco en pergamino [Sant Juan Climacus,
Libro llamado Escala espiritual]
- (8) 12 lores de ssan Ju^o bautista de pineda en pergamino [Juan
de Pineda, *Libro de la vida del S. Juan Baptista*]
- (9) 25 banidad del mundo de estela de las mejores y mas eunplidas
la meitad [sic] dellas en tablas de papel y flores de oro
y la otra mytad en pergamino encuadernadas las mas

the works listed. Following each title as given in the original manuscript an identification is offered enclosed in brackets. The task of identifying the works ordered is complicated by the abbreviated titles and frequent omission of the author's name and other details. Some identifications are conjectural and a few have not been established. Use was made of standard bibliographies such as Antonio Palau y Dulcet, *Manual del librero hispano-americano*; Cristóbal Pérez Pastor, *Bibliografía madrileña, La imprenta en Medina del Campo, and La imprenta en Toledo*; Nicolás Antonio, *Biblioteca hispana nova*; Clara L. Penney, *List of Books Printed before 1601, Books Printed 1601-1700* (Hispanic Society, New York), histories of Spanish literature, encyclopedias, dealers' catalogues, etc. Useful also was the "Inventario bibliográfico de la ciencia española" in Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, *La ciencia española* (3 vols., Madrid, 1888), III, 133-445.

[Copies]

dellas en tres cuerpos y las otras en dos [Diego de Estela, *Libro de la vanidad del mundo*]

(10) 50 suma de medina de las mas nuebas la mytad en tablas de papel y flores de oro y la otra mytad en pergamino [Bar-tolomé de Medina, *Suma de casos morales*]

(11) 25 sumas de pedraça en pergamino [Juan de Pedraza, *Summa de casos de consciencia*]

(12) 25 sumas de pedraça con alcocer todo en un cuerpo en tablas de papel la mitad con flores de oro y la mytad en pergamino [Juan de Pedraza, *Summa de casos de consciencia* and Francisco de Alcocer, *Confessionario breve y muy provechoso para los penitentes*]

(13) 12 concilis tridentinos de los mejores y mas añididos en pergamino [*Concilium treddentinum*]

(14) 25 Esamen de ynjenios en tablas de papel y flores de oro la mytad y los demas en pergamyno [Juan Huarte de San Juan, *Examen de ingenios para las ciencias*]

(15) 12 celestinas de las mas chicas con flores de oro la meitad y la otra mitad en pergamino [Fernando de Rojas (?), *Tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea*]

(16) 25 Romanceros de los romances franceses y no castellanos en pergamino
[Unidentified. *Romances of the Carlovingian cycle?*]

(17) 12 floresta española de todas suertes en tablas de papel y flores de oro [Melchor de Santa Cruz de Dueñas, *Floresta española de apotegmas y sentencias, sabia y graciosa-mente dichas de algunos españoles*]

(18) 12 balerio de las ystorias escolasticas pequeños en tablas de papel y flores de oro [Diego Rodríguez de Almela, *Valerio de las historias escolasticas de la sagrada escrip-tura y de los hechos de españa con las batallas campales, copilados por Fernán Pérez de Guzmán*]

(19) 12 alexo piamontes de secretos en pergamino [*Los secretos de Don Alexo Piamontes*]

(20) 20 selba de abenturas de luzman en pergamino [Hieronymo de Contreras, *Selva de Aventuras. Va repartido en siete libros . . . de unos extremados amores que . . . Luzmán tuvo con . . . Arbolea*]

(21) 10 teatro del mundo en pergamino [Pierre Boaistuau, *El teatro del mundo*]

[Copies]

(22) 25 libros del rrosario de nra. señora de los mejores y mas enmendados y pequeños en tablas de papel y flores de oro [Juan López, *Rosario de Nuestra Señora*; or Juan de Montoya, *Libro del Rosario de Nuestra Señora*]

(23) 20 artes de seruir a dios pequeños y grandes o de la suerte que los ubiere en pergamino [Alonso de Madrid, *Arte para servir a Dios*]

(24) 10 artes de amar a dios en pergamino [Alonso de Orozco, *Arte de amar a Dios y al Próximo*]

(25) 12 luz del alma de los mas pequeños en tablas de papel y flores de oro [Felipe de Meneses, *Luz del alma cristiana contra la ceguedad y ignorancia*]

(26) 12 obras de castillexo en pergamino de los pequeños [Cristóbal de Castillejo, *Las obras*]

(27) 12 propaladia y lazarrillo en pergamino [Bartolomé de Torres Naharro, *Propalladia y Lazarillo de Tormes* (Madrid, 1573)]

(28) 6 dialogos de pinto primera parte en pergamino

(29) 6 dialogos de pinto segunda parte en pergamino [F. Héctor Pinto, *Imagen de la vida cristiana ordenada por Diálogos, dos partes*]

(30) 12 juegos de las obras de frai Luis de granada todas cumplidas asta el coarto y la suma de frai luis todos ellos encoaderados en tablas de madera y manequelas [Luis de Granada, *Obras*]

(31) 6 obras de frai luis de granada en dos cuerpos grandes que sean ynpreso agora en tablas de madera y manequelas [Luis de Granada, *Obras*]

(32) 12 estela de amor de dios en tablas de papel y flores de oro [Diego de Estela, *Meditaciones devotissimas del amor de Dios*]

(33) 12 epistolarios del maestro abila en pergamino [Juan de Ávila, *Epistolario espiritual para todos estados*]

(34) 12 espejo de la bida humana en pergamino [Bernardo Pérez Chinchón, *Espejo de la vida humana*]

(35) 6 oratorio de religiosos de guebara en pergamino [Antonio de Guevara, *Oratorio de religiosos*]

(36) 6 montecalbario primera y segunda parte en dos cuerpos enquadernados en pergamino [Antonio de Guevara, *Libro llamado Montecalvario*]

[Copies]

- (37) 6 summa armilla en otabo de pliego en tablas de papel [Bartholomei Fumi, *Summa Armilla*]
- (38) 25 suma de cordoba de las añididas y mas nuebas la meitad en pergamino y la otra mytad en tablas de papel [Antonio de Córdoba, *Suma de Córdoba*]
- (39) 12 retrato del pecador dormido en pergamino [Francisco Núñez, *El retrato del pecador dormido*]
- (40) 12 practica de monterroso de los mejores en pergamino [Gabriel de Monterroso de Alvarado, *Práctica general, civil y criminal*]
- (41) 12 notas de rribera primera y segunda parte seys de cada una en pergamino
[Unidentified]
- (42) 6 silba de baria liçon en pergamino y añididas [Pedro Mexía, *Libro llamado Silva de varia lección*]
- (43) 6 caballeros determinados en pergamino [Olivier de la Marche, *Discurso de la vida humana y aventuras del caballero determinado*]
- (44) 6 rongesballes en pergamino [Francisco Garrido de Villena, *El verdadero suceso de la famosa Batalla de Roncaviles*]
- (45) 6 horlando enamorado en pergamino [Mateo María Boiardo, *Los tres libros llamados Orlando enamorado*]
- (46) 6 horlando determinado en tablas de papel y con flores de oro [Martín Abarca de Bolea, *Orlando determinado*]
- (47) 6 horlando El furioso de los mejores en pergamino [Lodovico Ariosto, *Orlando furioso . . . traducido por Gerónimo de Urrea*]
- (48) 6 cid en otaba rrima en pergamino
[Unidentified]
- (49) 12 primera y segunda araucana en pergamino [Alonso de Ercilla, *La araucana*]
- (50) 50 artes de antonio en tablas de papel [Antonio de Nebrija, *Arte de la lengua castellana*]
- (51) 100 luis biuas en tablas de papel [Juan Luis Vives, *Libro llamado Instrucción de la muger cristiana (?)*]
- (52) 50 Epistolas de tulio de las medianas y chicas en tablas de papel [Marcus Tullius Ciceron, *Los diez y seis libros de las epístolas o cartas*]
- (53) 50 diritorio euratorium en pergamino [Pedro Mártir Coma, *Directorium curatorum o Instrucción de Curas*]

[Copies]

(54) 12 birgilios de otabo y diez y seys en tablas de papel [*Los doze libros de la Eneida de Virgilio, principe de poetas latinos*]

(55) 16 bliuias [Biblias] chicas de otabo de pliego de la ynprision de plantino con el yndex blibicum en tablas de madera y manos y becerro de los mejores

(56) 8 blibias yn otabo de pliego ystorias de los mejores y mas nuebos y enmendadas en tabla de madera y manos y becerro

(57) 4 concordancias de la blibia en coarto de pliego o de las mejores que se hallaren y mas pequeñas en tablas de madera y manos y becerro [*Jacobo Baloco, or Juan de Segovia Concordancia de la Biblia*]

(58) 4 blibias grandes de marca de a pliego de las mejores y mas enmendadas y figuradas de madera manos y becerro

(59) 6 bocabularios Eclesiasticos de frai fran^{co} ximenez en quarto de pliego y si no se hallare sea en pliego en tablas de papel y cueros colorados y flores de oro [*Diego Jiménez Arias, Lexicon Ecclesiasticum Latino-Hispanicum (?)*]

(60) 12 cursos de soto en tres cuerpos cada huno que son sumulas loxica filosofia en pergamino [*Domingo de Soto, Summule, Opera philosophicae*]

(61) 4 pares de partes de ssanto tomas ynpresso en roma, o si no, en antuerpi de los mejores y mas cunplidas ynprision mas nueba y son tódos diez y seis cuerpos en becerro tablas y manos [*Opera Santo Thome en cuatro cuerpos*]

(62) 8 obras de soto que son El quarto con lo de natura de gracia y lo demas añidido y cunplido El de justicia et Jure que son todos ocho beynte y cuatro cuerpos en tablas de madera becerro y manos [*Domingo de Soto, In quartum librum Sententiarum*]

(63) 8 prima secunda de medina de las nuebas en tablas y becerro y manos [*Bartolomé de Medina, Expositio in Primam secundae angélico Doctoris Divi Thomae Aquinatis*]

(64) 8 terceras de medina en tablas de madera becerro y manos [*Bartolomé de Medina, Expositio in tertiam D. Thomae partem*]

(65) 20 estela sobre ssan lucas de los nuebos y enmendados y acensurados por el ssanto officio en tablas de madera y manos [*Diego de Estela, Sobre San Lucas*]

[Copies]

(66) 4 derecho canonico de los nuebos de marca de pliego ynpresos en antuerpi o en Paris enmendados y censurados que son tres cuerpos cada uno en tablas de madera y manequelas y becerro

(67) 2 derecho ciuil en seis cuerpos cada uno de marca de a pliego de los mejores que hubiere en tablas de madera becerro y manos

(68) 8 manual de nabarro en latin de ochoba de pliego o de quarto de pliego los mejores y mas enmendados en tablas de madera becerro y manos [Martín Azpilcueta Navarro, *Manuali Confessorum*]

(69) 4 nabarros en rromance de los mejores con el capitulo veinte y ocho en tablas de madera becerro y manos [Martín Azpilcueta Navarro, *Manual de confesores y penitentes*; or Pedro Navarro, *Manual o ceremonial del choro*]

(70) 8 flossantorum de toledo de los nuebos en tablas de madera becerro y manos [Alonso de Villegas, *Flos Sanctorum*, Toledo, 1583 (!)]

(71) 4 flos santorum de los grandes ynpresos en alcala o en seuilla o de los mejores en tablas de madera becerro y manos

(72) 8 historia pontifical primera y segunda parte de las mas nuebas en tablas de papel y cuero colorado o leonado y flores de oro [Gonzalo de Illescas, *Historia pontifical y católica*]

(73) 4 republica del mundo de frai gr^{mo} de las mejores y son primera y segunda parte en pergamino [Jerónimo Román, *Repúlicas del mundo divididas en XXVII libros*]

(74) 4 primera y segunda y tercera parte de anbrosio de morales y de los que más hubiere salido del ynpreso en coader-nados en pergamino [Ambrosio de Morales, *La coronica de España*]

(75) 4 ystoria de africa primera segunda tercera y quarta en coadernado en pergamino [Pedro de Salazar, *Historia de la guerra y presa de Africa: con la distruycion de la villa de Monatzer, y isla del gozo y perdida de Tripoli de Berberia*]

(76) 12 cursos de toledo que son sumulas loxica filosofia y de anima y generacione y todo lo demás que hubiere de la mejor ynpression encoadernados en tablas de papel cuero de colores y flores de oro [Francisco de Toledo, *Commentaria una cum Quaestionibus in octo libros Aristoteles*]

[Copies]

(77) 12 sermonarios de frai luis de granada que son cinco cuerpos
cada uno y lo demas que del hubiere salido encoadernados
en tablas de papel y cuero de color y flores de oro [Luis
de Granada, *Concionem de tempore*]

(78) 4 calepinos de cinco y siete lenguas en tablas de madera
becerro y manos [Ambrosiu Calepini, *Dictionarium . . .
vocabus latinis Italicae, Gallicae & Hispaniae*]

(79) 8 missales dominicos de la mas nueba ynprision y en quartc
de pliego con manequelas y becerro y tablas de madera
[*Missale fratrum Praedicatorum ordinis Sti Dominici*]

(80) 8 don belianis de grecia primera y segunda parte no traiga
tercera ni quarta por que aca hay muchas encoadernados
en pergamino [Gerónimo Fernández, *Libro . . . del
valeroso e invincible Príncipe don Belianis de Grecia*]

(81) 12 caballero del febo que tengan los principios de colores
encoadernados en pergamino [Diego Ortúnez Calahorra,
*Espejo de príncipes y caualleros . . . se cuentan los in-
mortales hechos del Caballero del Febo*]

(82) 12 caballero de la cruz encoadernados en pergamino [Alonso
de Salazar, *Crónica de Lepolemo, llamado Caballero de
la Cruz*]

(83) 6 olibante de laurea principe de macedonia enquadrados
en pergamino [Antonio de Torquemada, *Historia del . . .
caballero D. Olivante de Laura, príncipe de Macedonia*]

(84) 6 quatro de amadis que son seys cuerpos y cada quarto de
amadis es un cuerpo encuadernados en pergamino [Attributed to Vasco de Lobeyra, *Los quatro libros del muy
esforzado y muy virtuoso Caballero Amadís de Gaula*]

(85) 6 felismarte de arcania y lo que mas hubiere salido del asta
oy encoadernados en pergamino [Melchor de Ortega,
Historia del Príncipe Felixmarte de Hircania]

(86) 6 albornoz de contratos encoadernados en pergamino [Bartolomé de Albornoz, *Arte de los contratos*]

(87) 10 flores teologicarum quistiones en pergamino [Josephus
Angles, *Flores teologicarum quistionum sobre el cuarto
de las sentencias*]

(88) 10 capilla sobre los ebanjelios en tablas de papel y cuero
[Andrés Capilla, *Libro . . . de la oración en que se ponen
Consideraciones sobre los Evangelios*]

(89) 6 etor pinto sobre Ezequiel con elenco en tablas de papel y
cuero de color [Héctor Pinto, *In Ezechielem Commen-
taria*]

[Copies]

(90) 4 quistionarios de cordoba en tablas de madera becerro y manos [Antonio de Córdoba, *Cuestionarium Theologicum*]

(91) 2 silba alegoriarum de a pliego en tablas de madera y becerro [Jerónimo Loret, *Silvam Allegoriarum Sacras Scripturae mysticos*]

(92) 4 ynstituciones catolicas de biguerio de a pliego con tablas de madera y becerro [Juan Biguerio, *Institutiones ad Christinam Theologiam*]

(93) 12 calendarios dominicos de los mejores encoadernados en tablas de madera y manequeulas [Diego Jiménez, *Kalendarium perpetuum*]

(94) 2 Juanes de bigo en rromance de a pliego en pergamino [Joannes de Vigo, *Libro o práctica en cirurgía*]

(95) 2 guido con faleco en rromance encoadernado en pergamino [Guido de Cauliaco, *Inventario o colectorio en cirurgía . . . con la glosa del . . . Joan Falco, residente en . . . universidad de Mompeller*]

(96) 2 gordonio de medeçina en pergamino [Bernardus de Gordonio, *Lilio de medicina*]

(97) 4 çusedanos de fragoso en pergamino [Juan Fragoso, *De succedaneis medicamentis*]

(98) 6 dino y decio de reguli juris en pergamino [Filipus Decius, *De Regulis Juris*]

(99) 6 pratica ceuil y criminal de Julio claro en pergamino [Unidentified]

(100) 4 pratica de cerrerio de las nuebas en pergamino [Unidentified]

(101) 4 parladorio libro de leyes en pergamino [Joannes Yáñez Parladorius, *Iurisperiti in Regio Vallisoletani Pretori Aduocati . . .*]

(102) 2 antonio gomez barias de a pliego en pergamino [Antonio Gómez, *Variarum Resolutionum Juris Civilis*]

(103) 2 Judiciaria inquisicione de los nuebos en pergamino [Unidentified]

(104) 25 epistolas de obidio en tablas de papel y cuero de color

(105) 2 obras de rrebufo con el tratado nuebo o lo que del hubiere salido encoadernados en pergamino [Petrus Rebus, *Opera; de Tractatus nominationum*]

(106) 6 obras de orozco en latin lo de sanctis y adbiento y coaresma y todo lo demas que del hubiere en latin encoadernados en tablas de papel [Alonso de Orozco, *Declamationes in*

[Copies]

omnes solemnitates quae in festis sanctorum quotannis in Ecclesia Romana . . .]

(107) 4 fero sobre san juº de los buenos en pergamino [Juan Fero, or Ferus or Feri, *In sacrosantum Iesu Christi secundum Ioanem . . .*]

(108) 4 fero sobre san mateo de los buenos en pergamino [Juan Fero, Ferus or Feri, *Commentarium Joannis Feri in Sacrosantum Iesu Christi evangelium secundum Matthaeum*]

(109) 4 simancas instituciones catolicas de los nuebos y enmendados de a pliego o de otra marca en pergamino [Jacobo Simancas, *De Catholicis Institutionibus*]

(110) 2 rrecopilacion de ugo de celso de lo que agora compuso un letrado de balladolid que es a manera de rreportorio de leies en pergamino [Celso Hugues Descousu, *Las leyes de todos los reynos de Castilla*]

(111) 2 partidas de gregorio lopez con el rreportorio nuebo en pergamino [*Las siete partidas, glosadas por Gregorio López de Tovar*]

(112) 2 leyes de atiença con el rreportorio nuebo y las cartas acordadas y prematicas que se hubieren ynpresso con ellas o de las que hubiere en pergamino [Diego de Atienza, *Reportorio de la nueva recopilación de las leyes del reyno*]

(113) 10 cancioneros de Jorje de montemayor o de otros que sean buenos en pergamino [Jorge de Montemayor, *Cancionero*]

(114) 10 memorias de la bida cristiana ynpreso a costa de franº lopez el moço que tienen su calendario enquadernado en tablas de papel [Luis de Granada, *Memorial de la vida cristiana*]

(115) 12 marco aurelios de marca pequeña en tablas de papel los seys y los demas en pergamino [Antonio de Guevara, *Libro aureo de Marco Aurelio*]

(116) 2 marco aurelio con rrelox de principes de marca de a pliego en pergamino [Antonio de Guevara, *Libro llamado Relox de principes*]

(117) 4 batalla nabal de corderreal de coarto de pliego en tablas de papel y cuero de color [Jerónimo de Corderreal, *Victoria concedida del cielo al Sr. D. Juan D'Austria en el golfo de Lepanto*]

[Copies]

(118) 6 comedias de lope de rrueda en pergamino [Lope de Rueda, *Las primeras dos elegantes y graciosas comedias. Comedia Eufemia, Comedia Armelina. Las segundas . . . Comedia d'engaños, Comedia Medora. Los coloquios pastoriles*]

(119) 6 ystorias de mar y tierra del Jarife y rey de marruecos por salazar en marca de a pliego en pergamino [Pedro de Salazar, *Historia . . . muchas guerras . . . entre Christianos y infieles assi en mar como en tierra . . . entre el Xarife y los reyes de Marruecos*]

(120) 4 ulisea de omero en ochabo de pliego en tablas de papel y cueros de color [Gonzalo Pérez, *Odisea de Homero*]

(121) 4 diferencias de libros de alexo banegas en tablas de papel y cuero de color en ochabo de pliego [Alejo Vanegas, *Las diferencias de libros que hay en el universo*]

(122) 4 agonia de la muerte de alexo banegas en tablas de papel y cuero de color [Alejo Vanegas, *Agonía del tránsito de la muerte*]

(123) 6 garcilaso de los chiquiticos cin comento en pergamino [Garcilaso de la Vega, *Las obras*]

(124) 10 Reina ssaba de orozco de ochabo de pliego tablas de papel y cuero de color [Alonso de Horozco, *Historia de la reyna Saba*]

(125) 6 entretenimiento de damas y galanes en tablas de papel y cuero de color [Juan Francisco Carvacho, *Primera parte del honesto y agradable entretenimiento de Damas y Galanes*]

(126) 6 fisicos de ferrara y de anima con las adiciones de adeuario en coarto de pliego en pergamino
[Unidentified]

(127) 2 sentencarios de palacios todo lo que del hubiere salido en tablas de madera becerro y manos [Miguel de Palacio, *In primum librum magistri sententiarum disputationes*]

(128) 4 metafisica de ssonçinas en tablas de madera becerro y manos [Barus Paulas Soncinas, *Metafísica*]

(129) 100 consuelos y oratorio espiritual en rromance de los que agora ay nuebos los cincuenta todos dorados con tablas y manos y los cincuenta llanos con manos y tablas [Consuelo y oratorio espiritual de obras devotas . . . para exercitarse el buen cristiano]

(130) 6 martinez de anima en tablas y mano [Pedro Martínez de Brea, *De Anima*]

[Copies]

(131) 6 palacios de anima en tablas y mano [Miguel de Palacio, *In tres libros Aristotelis de Anima commentarii*]

(132) 6 Juegos de espejo de consolacion de tristes en ochabo de pliego en rromance ynpresos en barcelona o en otra parte encoadernados en pergamino [Juan de Dueñas, *Espejo de consolación* (!)]

(133) 6 libros de todas las obras que ha escrito frai luis de leon flaire agustino de escolastico y positivo enquadrernados en pergamino

(134) 4 especulum conjunciorum de los nuebos y añididos en pergamino [Alonso de Veracruz, *Speculum coniugiorum*]

(135) 8 medina del rregimiento de nabegar en pergamino [Pedro de Medina, *Regimiento de navegación*]

(136) 20 patrañuelos en pergamino [Juan de Timoneda, *El Patrañuelo*]

(137) 4 monarquia eclesiastica en pergamino [Juan de Pineda, *La monarquia eclesiastica*]

(138) 2 mesus de silbio en pergamino
[Unidentified]

(139) 20 discrecion de Jerusalen en pergamino
[Unidentified]

(140) 20 libros de los milagros de nra señora de la peña de francia en pergamino
[Unidentified]

(141) 20 milagros del crucifijo de burgos en pergamino
[Unidentified]

(142) 20 Resmas de menudencias como son san alexo [*La vida de Sant Alexo*], San amaro [*La vida del bienaventurado San Amaro y de los peligros que passó hasta que llegó al Paraíso terrenal*], santa ana [*La vida y generación y excelencias y miraglos de sanct Ana y de la virgen nuestra señora en su tierna edad*], cid, confesionarios de bitoria [Francisco de Victoria, *Confessionario muy útil y provechoso*], rrepertorillo de tiempos [*Reportorio de tiempos el mas copioso por un religioso de la orden del Dr Sant Bernardo*], ynfante don pedro [*Libro del infante Don Pedro de Portugal*], coplas del marques de mantua [*Romance del marqués de Mantua*], conde dirlos [*Romance de la historia de Conde Dirlos*], escala çeli [Sant Juan Clímaco, *Escala espiritual para llegar al cielo*], carlomagno [Nicolás de Piamonte, *Historia del*

Emperador Carlomagno y de las doce pares de Francia], caton, doncella de francia [*Doncella de Francia*], alibio de caminantes [Juan de Timoneda, *El sobremesa y alivio de caminantes*], cañamor y turian [*Historia del rey Cañamor del Infante Turián su hijo*], Jofre [*Cronica de los muy notables Cavalleros Tablante de Ricamonte y de Jofre*], tablante de rricamonte, y todas las demás menudencias nuebas que hubiera, flores y blancaflor [*La historia de los dos enamorados, Flores y Blancaflor*], y librillos otros diferentes para muchachos tales estos an de ser asta veinte rresmas y que sean de alcala o de otra ynpresion buena encoadernados todos en pergamino escrito al de [sic] menos los grandes que las coplas basta benir plegadas y cosidas costara cada rresma de. beynte a beynte y quattro—

EVOLUTION OF THE FREE SLAVE TRADE PRINCIPLE IN SPANISH COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION

The liberalization of the Negro traffic in the Spanish empire under Charles III and his successor constitutes a generally neglected phase of the Bourbon commercial reforms. It is the purpose of this study to trace the development of a new slave trade policy following 1759: namely, to encourage free importation of Negroes into the Indies by Spanish subjects and foreigners alike. But first it may be well to recapitulate summarily the history of the slave trade during the preceding monopolistic régime, in order that the basic shift in policy involved may become apparent.

I

The Negro traffic in the Indies, virtually as old as Spanish settlement there, was early subjected to rigid crown control in the interests of the royal revenue and of regulation of the number and quality of slaves imported. To accomplish these ends, the crown granted assentos or contracts, under which importers, in return for the promise of monopoly rights, agreed to introduce stipulated numbers of Negroes of specified quality and origin within given periods, and to pay a *derecho de marca*¹ or import tax on each slave thus introduced.

For something over a century and a half the assentos were held by private individuals or companies. Frequently the assentists were foreigners. But even when the trade was in the hands of Spanish subjects, these were obliged to obtain their Negroes from the Portuguese, Dutch, English, and French, who controlled the African sources of supply.

As time went on, it became increasingly apparent that in addition to legitimate profits, the Negro traffic provided a

¹ Literally, a "marking tax"—so called because it was usually assessed at the time the royal brand was placed on newly arrived Negroes at ports of entry to indicate their legal importation.

cloak for an exceedingly lucrative contraband trade within Spain's colonial preserve. By the end of the eighteenth century, the assiento had become an important diplomatic pawn among Spain's western European neighbors. Great semi-national Portuguese, French, and British companies successively obtained the assiento through the intervention of their governments. The last of these concerns, the celebrated South Sea Company, used its privileges to flood the Indies with contraband, an abuse which contributed materially to the outbreak of the Anglo-Spanish War of Jenkins' Ear in 1739. The war put an effective end to the company's Negro trade, though its legal rights subsisted until they were extinguished through purchase by Spain in 1750.²

Having shaken off the incubus of the South Sea Company, Spain sought to avoid the evils inherent in dependence upon great foreign companies by reverting to a system of small assentos, whenever possible in Spanish hands, and frequently granted in order to supply different regions of the Indies simultaneously. But this reliance upon local contracts, while it remedied many of the abuses of which the South Sea Company had been guilty, itself produced new difficulties. Chief among these were complexity of administration, chronically bothersome conflicts and lawsuits between assentists, and the inescapable fact that British slavers, who dominated the African sources and were entrenched in Jamaica and other West Indian entrepôts, utilized the small Spanish assentists as outlets for their contraband manufactured goods. Such, in brief, was the perplexing situation of the slave trade which confronted Charles III upon his accession in 1759.

II

The first expedient to which the monarch and his ministers had recourse ostensibly represented a continuation of various traditional Spanish policies. At first it certainly gave slight evidence of its real implications for the future liberalization

² The pertinent articles of the Anglo-Spanish treaty by which this matter was arranged are in Frances Gardiner Davenport and Charles Oscar Paullin, eds., *European Treaties Bearing on the History of the United States and its Dependencies* (4 vols., Washington, 1917-1937), IV, 79-80.

of the trade. It was decided to authorize a single great slave trading company subject to direct regulation from Madrid in order to avoid the evils of local assientos. Abuses inherent in foreign assientos were to be prevented by keeping the trade in Spanish hands.

The difficulty of putting such a project into effect before had always been to discover Spanish entrepreneurs capable of carrying on the slave traffic themselves. The year following Charles III's accession, however, Don Miguel de Uriarte, a Cádiz merchant interested in the Indies trade, sought and obtained a general assiento to import 15,000 *piezas de Indias*³ into Spanish America during ten years. The crown, interested in revenue as well as in securing an adequate slave supply at moderate rates, levied the traditional import tax of forty pieces of eight on each *pieza de Indias*, but forbade the assentist to sell Negroes of this category for more than 290 pieces of eight.⁴ Apparently before Uriarte could carry out his contract, Spain was drawn into the Seven Years' War as an enemy of Great Britain, and the assiento was allowed to lapse.⁵

The restoration of peace in 1763 made it possible for the

³ *Pieza de Indias*, or "piece of India" as the term was erroneously translated by eighteenth-century British slavers, meant a prime slave, sound in wind and limb, usually between the ages of eighteen and thirty, and seven Spanish *palmos* tall. Since slave cargoes commonly consisted partly of children, or of Negroes considered inferior because of size or physical defects, they were subjected at the time of debarkation to the *palmeo*, a process of measurement and appraisal by virtue of which the total number of slaves in a given cargo might be reduced to appreciably fewer *piezas de Indias*. This latter category was the basis for computing the import tax.

⁴ José Antonio Saco, *Historia de la esclavitud de la raza africana en el Nuevo Mundo y en especial en los países americano-hispanos* (2nd ed., 4 vols., Habana, 1938), II, 214.

⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 221. According to Hussey, in 1760 Uriarte solicited an assiento to supply Venezuela with slaves during a ten-year period. Whether this was to be in connection with the assiento described above, or was a supplementary contract entirely independent of the first, is not of great importance; for the next year the Caracas Company, which then enjoyed a monopoly of Venezuelan trade, advanced a counter-proposal to supply the provinces of Caracas and Maracaibo with Negroes. But this latter assiento was interrupted, like that of Uriarte, by the war with Great Britain. (Roland Dennis Hussey, *The Caracas Company, 1728-1784: A Study in the History of Spanish Monopolistic Trade* [Cambridge, Mass., 1934], p. 174.)

Spanish crown to resume its project of a general assiento. On this occasion there was no dearth of applicants. As a basis for further bids, accordingly, an extract of a new proposal submitted by Miguel de Uriarte was published in Madrid and Cádiz in September, 1764.⁶ At least two other proposals offering to better Uriarte's terms were seriously considered. One was advanced by Manuel González de Herrera and José Antonio de Silva, two Spanish merchants about whom little is known. The second was submitted by a versatile young Frenchman, Pierre-Augustin Carron Beaumarchais, agent and protégé of Joseph Pâris Duverney, a powerful French financier who also aspired to a monopoly of trade in Spanish Louisiana.⁷ Beaumarchais was at a disadvantage in making his proposal, for at the peace of Paris two years before, Great Britain had virtually excluded France from a direct slave trade on the west coast of Africa.⁸ Nothing was to be gained by substituting French for Spanish agents in dealing with the British, who shared control of most of the West African slaving stations with their Portuguese allies. Uriarte may have been preferred over his Spanish competitors because circumstances beyond his control had obliged him to forego his first assiento. In any event, he was encouraged to submit another plan, which was accepted as the basis for an assiento formally granted him on June 14, 1765.⁹

The new assiento, though on a larger scale than the abortive contract which Uriarte had signed in 1760, was essentially similar. Its provisions clearly indicate that the crown at this

⁶ Saco, *op. cit.*, II, 223, n. 1. This extract Saco erroneously supposed to be the definitive assiento, which, as will be seen, was not finally awarded until the following year.

⁷ A celebrated affair between Beaumarchais and the Spanish writer José de Clavijo y Fajardo over the latter's alleged refusal to marry Beaumarchais' sister, which inspired Goethe to write his *Clavigo*, has obscured the more solid reasons for the journey to Spain of the future author of *The Barber of Seville* and *The Marriage of Figaro*.

⁸ Lucien Peytraud, *L'esclavage aux antilles françaises avant 1789* (Paris, 1897), p. 69.

⁹ *Aprobacion del assiento hecho con don Miguel de Vriarte, para abastecer de esclavos negros diferentes provincias de las Indias* (Madrid, 1765). This cedula is also printed in Facultad de Filosofia y Letras, *Documentos para la historia argentina* (14 vols., Buenos Aires, 1913-1921), V, 190-197 (hereafter cited as *D.H.A.*).

time hoped to secure both an adequate slave supply at reasonable prices and a direct revenue from the Negro trade. In addition, they offer an insight into the general conditions of the slave traffic to which the prospective assentist had to adapt himself. Uriarte agreed to furnish annually a minimum of 1,500 slaves to Cartagena and Portobelo,¹⁰ 1,000 to Cuba, and 400 to the ports of Honduras and Campeche; while to those of Cumaná, Santo Domingo, Trinidad, Margarita, Santa Marta, and Puerto Rico, "considering their very few inhabitants, and the poverty of these," he was only required to import between five and six hundred each year. But in addition the assentist obligated himself to bring as many more Negroes as the king should command either to the ports listed or to any others.¹¹ Uriarte accepted a schedule of maximum prices which forbade him to charge more than 290 pieces of eight for each *pieza de Indias*, 260 each for *mulecones*, and 230 for *muleques*,¹² except in Puerto Rico, where, as a means of stimulating the agriculture of that backward island, *negros piezas* were to sell at 260 pieces of eight each and those of other categories at 220.

Uriarte agreed to pay a *derecho de marca* of forty pieces of eight for each *pieza de Indias* at the ports of entry within two weeks after landing his slaves. This import tax was declared to include all other impositions. The king stipulated, however, that should he grant a partial remission of the tax, Uriarte was to lower his selling price by twice the quantity in question. The traditional formalities of health inspection, measurement, and reduction of the total number of head of slaves to *piezas de Indias*, and branding with the royal mark were to subsist. The king declared that the governors of

¹⁰ The large number of slaves assigned to these two ports is explained by the fact that Uriarte was authorized to send Negroes from Cartagena into the hinterland of New Granada, while from Portobelo he was permitted to transport them across the Isthmus to Panama for transhipment to the coastal regions of the Presidency of Quito and of Peru, and to Chile.

¹¹ This clause was undoubtedly inserted to facilitate the extension of the *assiento* to New Spain and to the provinces of the Río de la Plata in the monarch's discretion.

¹² *Muleque* was the term applied to a Negro child under approximately ten or twelve years of age; youths from about twelve to eighteen were called *mulecones*. *Vide supra*, n. 3.

provinces containing ports of entry should be "judges conservator" with exclusive original jurisdiction in assiento matters.

A fundamental provision of the Uriarte contract required the establishment of a slave entrepôt at Puerto Rico. According to the plan outlined in the assiento, Uriarte was to dispatch Spanish ships from Cádiz loaded with domestic trade goods to barter for Negroes at factories on the African coast. Slaves thus obtained were then to be transported in the same ships to Puerto Rico, whence they were to be reshipped as needed in smaller Spanish craft to the individual ports of entry. The crown's misgivings concerning the practicality of this plan were betrayed in a significant provision that:

since in the said [African] ports it may happen that the necessary Negroes are not available, or that the English, jealous of their trade if deprived of the fraudulent advantages they have heretofore enjoyed while carrying on this supply themselves under their own flag, may plan hindrances to impede the trade, he [Uriarte] is accordingly authorized to transport the said Negroes from any ports or factories of Guinea under any foreign flag to the said port and depository of Puerto Rico. . . .

It is perfectly clear that the principal object of establishing the Puerto Rican entrepôt was to provide a halfway station at which the slave traffic should pass from British to Spanish hands.

To minimize still further the opportunities for smuggling, it was stipulated that foreigners who brought slaves to Puerto Rico should be paid either in Europe, or should accept Spanish goods which had been taken to that island. No specie or colonial products were to be taken aboard foreign ships at Puerto Rico. Uriarte was permitted to transport any Spanish goods left over from the Negro trade to the assiento ports in the Indies upon payment of the same import duties to which Spanish *registro* ships were subject. The proceeds from the sale of slaves were declared exportable in the same Spanish ships which brought the Negroes either in the form of specie or colonial produce. They could be transshipped with due formalities at Puerto Rico for Cádiz.

The provisions of the Uriarte assiento bear the unmistakable stamp of the new monarch's ambition to redeem not only the slave trade but also Spain's general commerce from foreign control. Had Spanish merchants of the period better understood the conditions of the slave traffic, they probably never would have accepted such terms. As it was, to guarantee the fulfillment of the assiento, Uriarte was required to obtain the backing of four substantial Cádiz merchants, who assumed responsibility for his obligations.¹³ On October 15, 1765, some four months after the assiento was granted, a supplementary royal cedula¹⁴ declared that the merchants in question, Lorenzo de Arístegui, Francisco Aguirre, José María Enrile, and José Ortúño Ramírez, should be included as active partners, possibly because further experience proved Uriarte's own means inadequate. Soon two of these men so dominated the affairs of the concern that it came to be called Aguirre, Arístegui and Company. After the initial period of organization no more is heard of Uriarte.

Although the officials in the Indies were promptly instructed to coöperate in carrying out the assiento, Aguirre, Arístegui and Company long delayed the importation of Negroes. Accordingly, the viceroy of New Granada authorized the Marquesa de Valdehoyos, a local assentist then supplying the viceroyalty with slaves, to continue her importation until Aguirre, Arístegui and Company should commence operations.¹⁵ It is probable that the colonial authorities elsewhere had recourse to similar stop-gaps. By January, 1768, however, representatives of the Spanish company had established the Puerto Rican entrepôt for the trade,¹⁶ and Negroes

¹³ *Aprobacion del assiento hecho con don Miguel de Vriarte, para abastecer de esclavos negros diferentes provincias de las Indias.*

¹⁴ This writer has not been able to consult this cedula, which seems to be extremely rare, but extant documents indicate that its essential purpose was to extend the terms originally granted to Uriarte to the above mentioned associates. (Julián de Arriaga to the viceroy of Peru, San Lorenzo el Real, October 26, 1765, *D.H.A.*, V, 367; royal officials of Santa Marta to the viceroy of New Granada, Santa Marta, May 15, 1766, MS in Archivo Histórico Nacional, Bogotá [hereafter cited as A.N.B.], *Negros y esclavos: Panamá*, IV, folios 855-856).

¹⁵ Royal officials of Santa Marta to the viceroy of New Granada, Santa Marta, May 15, 1766, MS in A.N.B., *Negros y esclavos: Panamá*, IV, folios 855-856.

¹⁶ Libro, en que por el gobernador juez-conservador de la Real Compañía del Assiento de Negros, hecho por don Miguel de Vriarte, para proveer de ellos

began to be dispatched thence for sale by company agents in Habana, Cartagena, Panama, and other principal markets.¹⁷

There is evidence that colonial officialdom opposed the establishment of the Aguirre-Aristegui assiento. It may well have reflected popular resentment at the transfer of the slave trade from local hands to those of Cádiz merchants, and perhaps even more at the substitution of Puerto Rico for Jamaica as the great Caribbean Negro entrepôt, with consequent decrease in opportunities for smuggling. Attempts to limit the assiento company's importation of Spanish goods into Cartagena, in which Viceroy Messía de la Cerda concurred, elicited a vigorous royal cedula reversing the viceroy's ruling and inveighing against a "pretended solicitude" of the royal officials, at the same time warning against "wilful and capricious interpretations" of the assiento terms on the part of those authorities.¹⁸

III

The inability of Aguirre, Aristegui and Company to continue the assiento under Uriarte's terms without disastrous losses occasioned an important step in liberalizing the Spanish slave trade. Experience had demonstrated the incompatibility of promoting colonial prosperity by means of cheap Negroes and of drawing a heavy direct revenue from the traffic. Consequently the crown now resolved to sacrifice the latter consideration to its more important interest in colonial development. The situation was brought to a head by the company's suspension of its trade, followed, in August, 1772, by the filing of a bankruptcy plea before the Casa de Contra-

diferentes provincias de Yndias; se toma razon de los que dicha compañía vende en esta ysla, con expresion del dia de la venta, la calidad del negro, quien lo compró, y en quanto, MS in Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

¹⁷ Gerardo José de la Sobreira to the viceroy of New Granada, Portobelo, September 30, 1769, and enclosed *autos*, MSS in A.N.B., *Negros y esclavos: Panamá*, IV, folios 509-518. MacPherson gives 1769 as the date of the beginning of the Aguirre-Aristegui assiento, by which he doubtless meant the date that importation began. (David MacPherson, *Annals of Commerce, Manufacture, Fisheries and Navigation with Brief Notices of the Arts and Sciences Connected with Them* [4 vols., London, 1805], IV, 166.)

¹⁸ Real cédula, San Lorenzo el Real, October 16, 1774, MS in A.N.B., *Reales cédulas*, XXI.

tación. The company's agents ascribed its alleged losses of something over one million pieces of eight to the onerous conditions which Uriarte had unwittingly accepted in 1765. The king was requested either to relieve the company of its obligations, or to permit its reorganization under more liberal terms. After consulting with a special junta of the Council of the Indies, the monarch, "in consideration of the notorious losses which the company has suffered and the desirability of continuing its assiento if carried out with the exactitude and conscientiousness heretofore displayed," acceded to this petition in a royal cedula of May 1, 1773.¹⁹

The new conditions thus granted Aguirre, Arístegui and Company for the renewal of their trade mark the abandonment of the policy of a high duty for revenue, though this step was at first tentative. Henceforth, not revenue, but the provision of ample labor at the lowest possible cost was to guide the crown's attitude toward the slave trade. During the three years which remained of the original ten granted to Uriarte, the company was exempted from the import tax of forty pieces of eight on each *pieza de Indias*. Having reserved the right to grant or withhold this concession during the additional three years which he now allowed the company, to encourage observance of the new provisions, the king, in view of the "special care and zeal with which the General Negro Assiento Company has observed the obligations of its contract," in 1776 renewed the tax remission for another two years.²⁰

In 1773 a second important modification of the original assiento relieved the company of the obligation of transhipping its Negroes at the Puerto Rico entrepôt for their final destinations. The reason for this concession is probably to be found in the free-port act passed by the British Parliament in 1765, largely as a means of retaining the profitable business of reëxporting slaves to non-British colonies.²¹ Since this

¹⁹ *Gracias, y ampliaciones que se conceden a la compañía del asiento de negros, para su restablecimiento, y continuación* (Madrid, 1773). This cedula is also printed in *D.H.A.*, V, 278-282.

²⁰ José de Gálvez to the governor and royal officials of Portobelo, El Pardo, February 22, 1776, MS in A.N.B., *Negros y esclavos: Panamá*, IV, folio 167-167vo.

²¹ Bryan Edwards, *The History, Civil and Commercial, of the British Colonies in the West Indies* (3rd ed., 3 vols. London, 1801), I, 294-298.

meant that Negroes purchased in Jamaica could now be freely exported in Spanish vessels, it worked an unnecessary burden on the company to require the maintenance of an expensive entrepôt in Puerto Rico when Negroes could be much more economically transported from Jamaica directly to the ports of consumption. With the abandonment of the Puerto Rico distributing base, the company established its chief factory in Habana, which as a result of the impulse given to Cuba's economic development by the British occupation of 1762-1763 had assumed new importance in the slave trade.²² These developments in their turn persuaded the British Parliament to renew the Jamaica free-port act upon its expiration in 1774, and eventually to make it permanent.²³

A final clause of the modified terms of 1773 reversed the provision of the original contract requiring payment for slaves to be made in Europe or with Spanish goods taken to Puerto Rico. The king now directed that ships dispatched by the company to the foreign islands in search of slaves should be permitted to carry with them the funds necessary for the purchase of Negroes there, provided the necessary formalities were observed and an export tax of four percent was paid. The sums exported for this purpose, however, were not to exceed 180 pieces of eight for each slave purchased.²⁴ This change was tantamount to the abandonment of the attempt to pay for slaves with the products of the peninsula. Aguirre, Arístegui and Company were now unnecessary middlemen in providing slaves to the Caribbean colonists, who naturally preferred to go themselves to buy Negroes in nearby Jamaica. Under these circumstances, and in view of its "lack of knowledge, of success in the choice of agents, and of means and necessary goods for trading in Africa,"²⁵ it is not strange that the company's fortunes did not greatly improve despite its liberal terms.

²² Hubert H. S. Aimes, *A History of Slavery in Cuba* (New York and London, 1907), pp. 32-37; MacPherson, *op. cit.*, IV, 166; Saco, *op. cit.*, II, 230-233.

²³ Edwards, *op. cit.*, I, 297-299.

²⁴ *Gracias, y ampliaciones que se conceden a la compañía del asiento de negros, para su restablecimiento, y continuación.*

²⁵ Miguel Lastarria, *Colonias orientales del Río Paraguay o de la Plata* (D.H.A., III, Buenos Aires, 1914), p. 314.

IV

The assiento of Aguirre, Arístegui and Company came to an end in September, 1779.²⁶ Repeated declarations of royal favor prior to that date incline one to think that the firm, had it so desired, might easily have obtained a second extension of its assiento period. But Anglo-Spanish hostilities, which broke out in 1778 as a result of Spain's support of England's rebellious North American colonies, made it impossible legally to obtain Negroes from Jamaica. The company, therefore, was probably anxious to wind up its affairs and to retire from the risky war-time traffic as soon as possible.

Faced with the ancient alternatives of providing adequately for a legal slave supply, or of seeing his dominions overrun by contraband Negroes, the Spanish monarch sought to solve the problem by utilizing the facilities of his French ally, who by now had partially recovered from the blow dealt to his slave trade by the British during the Seven Years' War.²⁷ By a royal order issued January 25, 1780,²⁸ the king authorized the colonial officials of all Spanish America except the Río de la Plata, Chile, and Peru, to permit Spanish nationals to go to the French colonies for slaves, on condition that these should be imported in vessels of the Spanish flag.²⁹ Such traders were to be licensed by the local authorities to export specie and produce from the Spanish colonies to pay for the Negroes. To minimize the extraction of precious metals, gold and silver were subjected to an export duty of six per cent; while other products bore only a five per cent duty. A comparatively low import tax of six per cent on their market value was also laid on all Negroes, with the understanding that no *pieza de Indias* should be evaluated at less than two hundred pieces of eight. The importation of flour and other provisions or clothing on the pretext of use by the slaves was strictly prohibited.

²⁶ Rafael Antúnez y Acevedo, *Memorias históricas sobre la legislación y gobierno del comercio de los españoles con sus colonias en las Indias Occidentales* (Madrid, 1797), p. 145.

²⁷ Peytraud, *op. cit.*, pp. 72-73.

²⁸ José de Gálvez to the governor and royal officials of Cartagena, El Pardo, January 25, 1780, MS in A.N.B., Negros y esclavos: Panamá, IV, folio 103-103vo.

²⁹ According to MacPherson, even neutral vessels could be used in the Habana trade during this period (MacPherson, *op. cit.*, IV, 166).

In the case of the Viceroyalty of the Río de la Plata, which not only required Negroes for local use but also sent many across the Andes to Chile and Peru during this period,³⁰ the monarch sought to retain direct control over the issuance of import licenses to individuals. An attempt was made to encourage slaving voyages from Africa directly to the Río de la Plata by granting lower duties than those levied on Negroes from Brazil or other friendly foreign colonies in America.³¹ Nevertheless, slaving voyages to Rio de Janeiro and other Brazilian ports continued to be common because of the relative cheapness of Negroes there and because such voyages provided excellent opportunities for contraband.³² While the war with Great Britain lasted, the monarch even issued permits to Portuguese subjects³³ to transport slaves directly from Africa to Río de la Plata. Finally, on September 25, 1784, the king authorized the intendant of Buenos Aires to grant local permits for the importation of slaves.³⁴ But whether issued locally or by the crown, these Río de la Plata slaving licenses were calculated to secure an adequate slave supply under conditions imposed by the war and its aftermath.

Further evidence of the crown's desire to assure such a supply is to be found in a circular ministerial order of November 4, 1784, which established an import tax of six percent on a uniform maximum appraisal of 150 pieces of eight for each

³⁰ Domingo Amunátegui Solar, "La trata de negros en Chile," *Revista chilena de historia y geografía*, XLIV (December, 1922), 25-40; Fernando Romero, "La corriente de la trata negrera en Chile," *Sphinx*, III (March-June, 1939), 87-93.

³¹ In 1783, for instance, the crown granted a license to one Baltasar de Arandia to introduce from Africa 500 Negroes into the Río de la Plata, Peru and Chile; and, "in view of the advantages which a direct traffic in this branch of trade brings to the public," it directed that import duties should be one third lower than if the slaves were obtained from Brazil or some other foreign colony. (José de Gálvez to the viceroy of the Río de la Plata, El Pardo, April 8, 1783, in *D.H.A.*, VI, 254.)

³² See the documents on this subject in *D.H.A.*, VI, 209 *et passim*; cf. also Lastarria, *op. cit.*, 314.

³³ Such, for instance, was the license granted on June 13, 1782 to Luis Can tofer to import 1,000 slaves; that granted in 1783 for an equal number to José de Oliveira Pedroso; and the license for 600 granted to Matías López Arraya in 1784. (*D.H.A.*, VI, 255-258, 276.)

³⁴ José de Gálvez to the intendant of Buenos Aires, El Pardo, April 3, 1786, *D.H.A.*, VI, 324.

slave in all parts of the Indies where duties had not been entirely abolished.³⁵ The same year witnessed a royal dispensation authorizing the Liverpool firm of Baker and Dawson to provide Trinidad and the Province of Caracas with four thousand slaves, entirely free of duty, but at a maximum price of 150 pieces of eight per capita.³⁶ Two years later Baker and Dawson agreed, on the same terms, to supply between five and six thousand Negroes to the Province of Caracas and to Cuba.³⁷

V

The opening of the Spanish slave trade to private individuals on relatively liberal terms under pressure of maritime war was a new departure in the development of the Negro traffic. Tentatively introduced at first, the measure was clearly the next step in the liberalization of the slave trade. It seems probable that it soon would have become permanent had it not been for a new factor which temporarily blocked the free slave trade. This was Spain's acquisition of Portugal's rights to the islands of Annobon and Fernando Po, located in the Gulf of Guinea off the west African coast, by a treaty signed between the two nations in 1778.³⁸ The pertinent articles clearly stated that the object of the cession was to provide Spanish bases for the slave trade on the African coast.³⁹

The highest hopes were entertained that possession of these islands would relieve Spain of her dependence upon foreign traders for her Negro supply.⁴⁰ But these sanguine

³⁵ N. A. N. Cleven, ed., "Ministerial order of José de Gálvez establishing a uniform duty on the importation of Negro slaves into the Indies," *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, IV (1921), 266-276.

³⁶ MacPherson, *op. cit.*, IV, 166. ³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ The texts of the treaty, the main purpose of which was to settle the Hispano-Portuguese boundary disputes in South America, are in Carlos Calvo, ed., *Colección completa de los tratados . . . de todos los estados de la América Latina* (11 vols., Paris, 1862-69), III, 168-191.

³⁹ Articles 13, 14 and 15 of the treaty gave Spain the right to carry on the Negro traffic directly on the adjacent coast of Portuguese Africa, at the same time authorizing Portuguese subjects to sell slaves in the two islands (Calvo, *op. cit.*, III, 185-189).

⁴⁰ It is significant that when Viceroy Guirior of Peru reported the pressing shortage of slaves for agricultural purposes in the coastal provinces of that vice-

expectations were soon proved illusory. For as a contemporary observer subsequently wrote, "the court of Lisbon, which ceded to us the islands of Annobon and Fernando del Po [sic], . . . in substance did nothing but oblige itself not to embarrass the conquest of the said islands, thus causing us to conceive the error that we could take possession of them easily and with no resistance on the part of the natives."⁴¹ An expedition which Viceroy Pedro de Cevallos organized at the instance of the crown was dispatched from Montevideo to occupy the islands in 1778, only to fail utterly. Another attempt, delayed by Spain's entry into the war against Great Britain later that year, was similarly unsuccessful when it was finally undertaken following the restoration of peace in 1783.⁴²

Despite these reverses, the initial optimism engendered by the acquisition of rights to the islands survived long enough to delay the triumph of the free slave trade. The crown felt that the potentialities of the new possessions could be more effectively exploited by a Spanish monopoly than by individual traders. Thus when the stockholders of the moribund Caracas Company were reorganized to form the Philippine Company in March, 1785, not only was the new concern authorized to engage in monopolistic general trade between Spanish and American ports and those of the Philippines via Cape Horn, Peru, and the Cape of Good Hope,⁴³ but plans were also laid to encourage the new company by granting it the monopoly of the American slave trade. Accordingly, in April, 1786, the colonial authorities were instructed to suspend the issuance of individual slaving licenses, which had been continued since the

royalty in 1780, he was assured by the court that a plentiful supply from Annobon and Fernando Po would soon be forthcoming. (See Guirior's "Relación," in *Memorias de los virreyes que han gobernado el Perú durante el tiempo del coloniaje español* (6 vols., Lima, 1859), III, 19-20.

⁴¹ Lastarria, *op. cit.*, 157.

⁴² D.H.A., VII, *Introducción*, lx-lxi, n. 3. Following these abortive attempts, the islands were left to their inhabitants until they were seized in 1827 by the British, who finally relinquished them to Spain in 1833.

⁴³ Hussey, *op. cit.*, 297; William Lytle Schurz, "The Royal Philippine Company," *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, III (1920), 491-508.

late war, pending the Philippine Company's assumption of the trade.⁴⁴

To the Philippine Company the Negro traffic was a sideline venture, only attractive as a money-making supplement to its general trade. The royal order⁴⁵ which it elicited from the crown on June 2, 1787, made no mention of providing slaves to the Indies as a whole, which was clearly the original intention of the Annobon and Fernando Po enthusiasts. Instead, the crown authorized the company to undertake experimentally during 1787 and 1788 the importation of slaves into Montevideo, Buenos Aires, and the ports of Chile and Peru—way stations on the company's route from Spain around Cape Horn to the Philippines. Moreover, after perfunctorily and inconsistently proclaiming the royal desire to place the slave trade in Spanish hands, the cedula empowered the company to buy or charter through agents in England as many ships as it should need to carry slaves from Africa to the above-mentioned ports. It was stipulated, however, that each ship was to carry a factor, a pilot, a surgeon, and "four or six" sailors, all Spanish. While the ships were permitted to begin their voyages under British colors, upon reaching southern American waters, they were to raise the Spanish flag. After discharging their slaves, they were to be allowed to take on cargoes destined for Spain like ordinary Spanish *registro* ships. The local authorities were instructed to confiscate all goods found on board the slave ships other than necessary provisions.

The Philippine Company engaged some six vessels at London, Liverpool, and Bristol to carry on its Negro trade.⁴⁶ Soon after undertaking this commerce, it appealed to the king for permission to send four of its slave ships, about to sail for the Río de la Plata, directly back to England with cargoes of hides, horns, and wool, an unusual privilege which the mon-

⁴⁴ José de Gálvez to the viceroy of New Granada, El Pardo, April 3, 1786, MS in A.N.B., Negros y esclavos: Panamá, IV, 104; the same to the intendant of Buenos Aires, El Pardo, April 3, 1786, *D.H.A.*, VI, 324.

⁴⁵ José de Gálvez to the viceroy of the Río de la Plata, Aranjuez, June 2, 1787, *D.H.A.*, VII, 390-393.

⁴⁶ MacPherson, *op. cit.*, IV, 167.

arch granted in April, 1788.⁴⁷ A year later, because of the "excessive costs" which the Philippine Company had allegedly experienced in transporting Negroes to the Río de la Plata, the crown informed the officials of that viceroyalty that the company had been exempted from import duties on its slaves.⁴⁸ Despite these advantages, available records provide no evidence that the Philippine Company made use of its right to send its slave ships around Cape Horn to Chile and Peru. Within a few years its lack of success even in the Río de la Plata led it to suspend its Negro trade.⁴⁹ The explanation of this failure is probably to be found in the company's inexperience, inevitable dependence upon foreign middlemen, and probable inability to compete with local smugglers who secured cheaper Negroes from Brazil.

VI

The complete fiasco of the Philippine Company's attempt to import Negroes from Africa into the Spanish colonies enabled Spanish free slave trade advocates to effect in 1789 the definitive liberalization of the Negro traffic. The fact that evolution in this direction had been tacitly permitted in certain parts of the Spanish empire even during the Philippine Company's experiment undoubtedly contributed to their success. In New Granada, for example, licenses such as that granted the Cabildo of Panama in May, 1785, to import in Spanish ships two thousand Negroes from foreign islands,⁵⁰ continued to be issued. Viceroy Caballero y Góngora explained his disregard of the royal order of April 3, 1786,⁵¹ directing him to withhold such licenses, in the following terms: This need for Negroes for the development of mining persuaded me to grant different licenses for their importation from the [foreign] colonies, despite the fact that by royal order their introduction is forbidden to any other agency than the Philippine Company. But the

⁴⁷ Antonio Valdés to the viceroy of the Río de la Plata, Madrid, March 14, 1789, *D.H.A.*, VI, 401-402.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ Lastarria, *op. cit.*, 314.

⁵⁰ Expediente en que consta la consulta que hace el teniente de Barbacoas . . . , MS in Archivo Central del Cauca, Popayán, Signatura 6041-(Col-CIII-2h).

⁵¹ José de Gálvez to the viceroy of New Granada, El Pardo, April 3, 1786, MS in A.N.B., *Negros y esclavos: Panamá*, IV, folio 104.

latter has not been able to supply as many as were allowed to it; and it is this kingdom's great misfortune that the importation of a commodity of prime necessity for its progress should depend upon whether or not the company should decide to exercise its privilege. . . .⁵²

Opinion in Cuba was probably chiefly responsible for persuading the Madrid government to give free trade in Negroes a thoroughgoing trial. Neither New Granada, chronically in need of slaves for its gold mines, nor Peru, whose coastal sugar plantations required a constant replenishment of laborers; nor the temperate Río de la Plata and Chile, where slaves were always in demand in the hide industry and for domestic service, possessed the influence in this respect of Cuba and the other tropical agricultural colonies of the Caribbean. Thus in 1788, when representatives of the island sought free slave trade privileges instead of a renewal of the partial monopoly held by Baker and Dawson,⁵³ the crown gave heed. Another powerful reason for ending reliance upon these British traders was found in contemporary humanitarian debates in the British Parliament, which foreshadowed the end of Great Britain's slave traffic.⁵⁴ In February, 1789, therefore, the Spanish Junta Suprema de Estado advised the monarch that the slave trade should be opened to Spaniards and foreigners generally during a trial period.⁵⁵ This report was the basis of the great free slave trade cedula issued on the twenty-eighth of the same month.⁵⁶

The provisions of the document extended at first only to Cuba, Santo Domingo, Puerto Rico, and the Province of Caracas, where there was an especially pressing need for field hands, "without whom," to quote the cedula, "they cannot prosper and flourish, nor produce for the state the immense

⁵² Antonio Caballero y Góngora, "Relación," *Relaciones de mando* (Academia Colombiana de Historia, *Biblioteca de historia nacional*, VIII, Bogotá, 1910), p. 737.

⁵³ *Supra*, n. 14.

⁵⁴ Aimes, *op. cit.*, 49; MacPherson, *op. cit.*, IV, 166; Saco, *op. cit.*, II, 237ff., III, 2ff.

⁵⁵ Saco, *op. cit.*, III, 3.

⁵⁶ *Real cédula de su magestad concediendo libertad para el comercio de negros con la isla de Cuba, Santo Domingo, Puerto Rico, y Provincia de Caracas, a españoles y extranjeros, bajo las reglas que se expresan* (Madrid, 1789). This cedula is also printed in *D.H.A.*, VI, 394-399.

riches which their climate and the fertility of their soil offer." It was doubtless felt that free trade might easily be extended to other regions of the Indies if it was successful in its original proving ground.

The liberality of the new law clearly shows that its purpose was to encourage the importation of a maximum number of Negroes at the lowest possible prices. The old days of restriction were now definitely over. The new guiding principle was to enable Cuba and the other Caribbean colonies to compete with such foreign sugar colonies as Haiti, Jamaica, and Guadalupe, whose intensive development was looked upon as the proper goal. Any Spanish subject either in the Peninsula or in the Indies was now authorized to go in his own vessel to any foreign market and there to purchase Negroes with specie or products which he was allowed to export for the purpose. Foreigners, likewise, during a two-year period might freely import slaves in vessels of not over three hundred tons burden into the American colonies, though they were forbidden to maintain non-Spanish agents there or to remain longer than twenty-four hours in port. It was declared that neither Spanish subjects nor foreigners should be permitted to introduce any goods except slaves on pain of confiscation of ship and cargo. The cedula further provided that in the ports designated for the slave trade, an "individual of standing, known zeal, disinterestedness and patriotic spirit," to be named by the secretary of state for the Indies, should preside at the inspection of arriving slave ships. He was likewise to see that the Negroes were healthy, of good *castas*,⁵⁷ and that not more than one third should be women.

Not only were no duties imposed upon the importation of Negroes, but in order to encourage Spanish subjects to engage in the traffic, a bounty of four pieces of eight per head was to be paid them—a far cry indeed from the old days when *derechos de marca* of thirty-three and a third, forty, or even sixty pieces of eight had been levied upon each *pieza de Indias*! But, the monarch continued,

⁵⁷ *Castas*, in this sense, meant the African tribes or nations from which the Negroes were drawn, some of which were reputed to produce much better slaves than others.

since my principal object in granting liberties, exemptions and privileges in this trade is the encouragement of agriculture, I declare that for each Negro not destined to it or to the working of haciendas, sugar mills and other rural tasks, but to the domestic service of dwellers in cities, towns and villages, there must be paid an annual capitation tax of two pieces of eight . . . in order to moderate excesses in this matter and to help in the payment of bounties which the royal treasury is to provide.

VII

Hardly had the free slave cedula of 1789 gone into effect when the first steps were taken to extend it to other parts of the Spanish dominions in America. In this movement New Granada led the way. Viceroy Francisco Gil y Lemos strongly emphasized the need for more slaves in the colony, "theirs being," as he said, "the most necessary labor for the development of agriculture, the working of mines, and for other tasks of some strenuousness."⁵⁸ Meetings of miners, planters, and merchants held under viceregal auspices enthusiastically approved the proposed extension,⁵⁹ and a royal order of February 23, 1791, added Cartagena to the list of ports through which the free trade in Negroes might be carried on.⁶⁰ Somewhat later Río de la Hacha was opened to the traffic, but in view of the ease of smuggling in that isolated region, only Spanish subjects were permitted to introduce slaves there.⁶¹

⁵⁸ Francisco Gil y Lemos to Viceroy Ezpeleta, Cartagena, November 10, 1789, MS in A.N.B., *Negros y esclavos: Panamá*, IV, folio 18-18vo.

⁵⁹ Antonio Valdés to Viceroy Ezpeleta, Aranjuez, June 4, 1789, MS in A.N.B., *Negros y esclavos: Panamá*, IV, folio 324; Viceroy Ezpeleta to the governor of Antioquia, Santa Fe, September 11, 1789, MS in *ibid.*, folio 309-309vo; Francisco Gil y Lemos to Viceroy Ezpeleta, Cartagena, November 10, 1789, MS in *ibid.*, folio 18-18vo; *expediente* on the extension of the free trade cedula of February 28, 1789 to Cartagena, MS in *ibid.*, folios 318 *et seq.*

⁶⁰ Antonio de Narváez y la Torre to the viceroy of New Granada, Río de la Hacha, July 10, 1791, MS in A.N.B., *Negros y esclavos: Panamá*, IV, folio 558-558vo.

⁶¹ José de Ezpeleta, "Relación," *Relaciones de mando*, 363.

The failure to open Portobelo, formerly the great Isthmian slave entrepôt for the west coast trade, can be attributed to large scale importation of slaves to Peru and Chile via the Río de la Plata during this period. In 1790, for example, the well-known Buenos Aires slaver, Tomás Antonio Romero, was granted a permit to import 1,000 Negroes under the terms of the free trade cedula of

The Río de la Plata was the next region to receive the advantages of the free Negro traffic. A royal cedula of November 24, 1791,⁶² which superseded the original free trade ordinance of 1789, opened the ports of that viceroyalty. In addition, the new commerce was now extended for another six years—compelling evidence that free traffic in Negroes had established its superiority over the old regime of assientos and individual licenses. A royal order of May 28, 1795, next opened the Peruvian ports of Callao and Paita to free and direct Negro traffic by sea; and finally, following successive extensions of time,⁶³ Guayaquil and Panama were granted the same privilege in a royal cedula of April 22, 1804.⁶⁴ In view of strong representations advocating a continued free trade in Negroes which had been made by such officials as the governor of Cartagena, the captain general of Cuba, and the viceroy of the Río de la Plata, the Madrid government now proclaimed a twelve-year extension of the traffic for Spanish subjects, while foreigners were granted half that time.⁶⁵

Meanwhile, a progressive liberalization of the terms under which Spaniards and foreigners were permitted to import slaves into the Indies kept pace with the territorial extension of the traffic. To begin with, importation procedure was simplified. As early as 1784, the king, "moved by the sentiments of his humanity and innate benevolence to mitigate and ameliorate the lot of the Negro slaves . . . transported to his dominions in the the Indies,"⁶⁶ forbade the ancient practice

1789 from Brazil into the Río de la Plata, whence he was allowed to transport them to Chile and Peru. (Diego de Gardoqui to the viceroy of the Río de la Plata, San Lorenzo El Real, November 14, 1790, in *D.H.A.*, VI, 465-466.)

⁶² *Concediendo libertad para el comercio de negros con los virreinatos de Santa Fé, Buenos Ayres, Capitanía gral de Caracas, e islas de Santo Domingo, Cuba, y Puerto Rico: á españoles y extranjeros vajo las reglas que se expresan* ([Madrid!], 1791). This cedula is also printed in *D.H.A.*, VII, 4-9.

⁶³ Francisco de Saavedra to the viceroy of the Río de la Plata, Aranjuez, April 12, 1798, *D.H.A.*, VII, 145-146.

⁶⁴ *Sobre continuacion del comercio de negros, y prórroga de su introducción, en la forma que se expresa* ([Madrid!], 1804). This cedula is also printed in *D.H.A.*, VII, 281-287.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ José de Gálvez to the viceroy of New Granada, November 30, 1784, MS in Archivo Central del Cauca, Popayán, Signatura 6328-(Col-CII-24g); cf. also *D.H.A.*, VI, 279-280.

of placing the royal brand on slaves to indicate their legitimate importation.⁶⁷ With all due respect for the monarch's compassion, one suspects that this prohibition stemmed principally from the fact that the gradual abolition of import duties had made branding a bothersome formality. Exemption from duties also made it possible to simplify importation procedure by dispensing with the *palmeo*.⁶⁸ Port formalities were accordingly reduced to a routine health examination of newly arrived Negroes, sometimes followed by a quarantine,⁶⁹ and at least an ostensible search for contraband.

With the establishment of free commerce in Negroes, the crown adopted a series of measures to encourage the participation of Spanish subjects in the trade. A royal order of 1793,⁷⁰ for instance, sought to stimulate Spanish slaving voyages to Africa by granting exemption from export taxes on goods shipped for this purpose from any port in Spain or the Indies, on condition the captain and half the crew were Spanish. The same law freed vessels of foreign construction purchased by Spanish subjects for the African trade from the *extrangería*, or registry tax. A subsequent disposition extended this exemption to ships of foreign construction purchased for the slave trade in general, regardless of whether the vessels were bought in Spanish or in foreign ports.⁷¹ In September, 1793, the crown announced that Spanish subjects might transport in their own ships colonial products, though not gold or silver, received in exchange for Negroes to foreign ports either in America or in Europe.⁷² Following 1790, foreigners and Spanish subjects alike were assessed a six per

⁶⁷ *Supra*, n. 1.

⁶⁸ *Supra*, n. 3.

⁶⁹ In Buenos Aires the local consulado, in view of the increasing importation of Negroes, decided in 1799 to construct *galpones* or slave pens, at which newly imported Negroes were kept in quarantine at some distance from the city. (*Archivo General de la República Argentina* [segunda serie, 14 vols., Buenos Aires, 1894-99], III, *passim*.)

⁷⁰ Diego de Gardoqui to the viceroy of the Río de la Plata, Aranjuez, January 24, 1793, *D.H.A.*, VII, 13.

⁷¹ ——— Varela to the viceroy of the Río de la Plata, Aranjuez, March 20, 1797, *D.H.A.*, VII, 123-124.

⁷² Diego de Gardoqui to the viceroy of the Río de la Plata, San Ildefonso, September 19, 1793, *D.H.A.*, VII, 38-39.

cent tax on all products exported in payment for slaves.⁷³ Finally, the crown in 1794 authorized its subjects who went to foreign colonies in search of slaves to bring back free of duty agricultural machinery and equipment in the event that Negroes were unavailable.⁷⁴

Foreigners, too, profited by the increasingly liberal Spanish slave trade policy. A royal order of March 18, 1791,⁷⁵ facilitated foreign participation in the traffic by raising the tonnage limit of non-Spanish slave vessels from three hundred to five hundred tons. Similarly, by 1792 the time such ships were permitted to remain in port had been progressively raised from the original twenty-four hour limit of 1789 to a week, and eventually to forty days.⁷⁶ There is reason to believe that foreigners—British, Anglo-Americans, Portuguese, French, and other lesser traders—availed themselves of the new freedom to provide the large majority of the slaves imported during this period. Not a little of that broadening contact with foreign merchants which facilitated the independence movement in the Spanish colonies resulted from the free trade in Negro slaves.

The free slave trade policy never reached fruition. Hardly had the new principle been established when the repercussions of the French Revolution and ensuing European wars caused the interruption of the Spanish slave traffic. To begin with, the Madrid government, fearful that the equalitarian ideas of the rebellious Haitian Negroes would contaminate the Spanish colonies, excluded all slaves of French origin.⁷⁷ Later the ruling was modified to keep out all slaves except *bozales*, or Negroes newly brought from Africa.⁷⁸ But the slave trade

⁷³ Unsigned royal order to the intendant of Habana, Madrid, September 18, 1790, *D.H.A.*, VI, 463.

⁷⁴ Diego de Gardoqui to the viceroy of New Granada, Aranjuez, March 19, 1794, MS in A.N.B., *Negros y esclavos: Panamá*, IV, folio 15.

⁷⁵ Antonio de Narváez y la Torre to the viceroy of New Granada, Río de la Hacha, September 5, 1791, MS in A.N.B., *Negros y esclavos: Panamá*, IV, folio 425-425vo.

⁷⁶ *Sobre continuacion del comercio de negros, y prórroga de su introducción, en la forma que se expresa.*

⁷⁷ José de Ezpeleta to Pedro de Lerena, Santa Fe, August 19, 1790, MS in A.N.B., *Negros y esclavos: Panamá*, IV, folio 897-897vo.

⁷⁸ *Sobre continuacion del comercio de negros, y prórroga de su introducción, en la forma que se expresa.*

suffered a much more serious blow from the maritime hostilities which accompanied the Napoleonic wars. British naval power cut off the Spanish dominions from the African sources of supply, and even rendered hazardous trade with friendly foreign colonies in America. The virtual cessation of the Negro traffic by the outbreak of the Spanish-American wars of independence greatly facilitated the work of the creole anti-slavery leaders of the new republics, who were universally successful in proscribing the trade entirely as a first step toward emancipation.

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THE EARLY REVOLUTIONARY CAREER OF JUAN MARIANO PICORNELL

PREPARATION FOR REVOLUTION

Conservative classes everywhere in eighteenth-century Europe found their favored position in the social structure challenged by the liberal ferment. Powerful ideas were abroad, ideas pregnant with disaster for the favored few who clung desperately to positions of vantage. Those intellectual adventurers who dared the torture chamber and the gallows to advocate liberalism were but a small minority of the people in any country, but they exerted an influence that helped to undermine the foundations of society as it was then constituted. Secret societies contributed an unmeasurable but significant impetus to the expansion of liberalism. The various groups that made up Masonry were probably the most important agencies for perpetuating and spreading subversive ideas.

Organized Masonry dates from the formation of the Grand Lodge of England in 1717. This event may be considered as having completed the transition from masonic guilds to non-operative Masonry. By 1725 the English lodges were united in the York rite, although a schism appeared in 1751 that continued until 1813. The Grand Lodge of Scotland, organized in 1736, competed with the English lodges in establishing Masonry abroad.¹ Lodges appeared in significant numbers on the continent, and all of them "traced their lineage to one of the British lodges."² The Grand Orient of France, dating from 1773,³ was organized at a very significant time. Various writers have asserted that Freemasonry was the activating cause of the French Revolution,⁴ and that the virus of revolt emanated from French lodges and spread through many countries.

¹ Frank H. Hankins, "Masonry," *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, IX, 177-178. ² *Ibid.*, IX, 178. ³ *Ibid.*, IX, 182.

⁴ See Nesta H. Webster, *Secret Societies and Subversive Movements* (London, 1924), pp. 243-244.

A Masonic lodge appeared in Spain as early as 1713 when the Lodge Las Tres Flores de Lis was founded. By 1727 there may have been two hundred lodges in Spain obeying the dictates of the Grand Lodge of London. A Spanish Grand Lodge was organized with the Conde de Aranda as Grand Master in 1760, and thereafter French influence is said to have supplanted the English. Aranda converted the Spanish Grand Lodge into a Grand Orient in 1780,⁵ but his control was soon threatened by an interesting adventurer who organized lodges to challenge Aranda and his group.

José Balsamo, who assumed the title of Count of Cagliostro, was a glib imposter and an accomplished liar. He managed to elude the police in several European countries and made a living by forgery, painting, and selling elixirs and hair tonics. Through the use of self-delegated authority he founded lodges in Barcelona, Cádiz, Valencia, Seville, and Madrid.⁶ These lodges were significant because they became centers for revolutionary activity. Spanish Masonry under Aranda and his followers was "courtly, aristocratic, and philosophical," while the lodges set up by Balsamo were "popular, democratic, and revolutionary. . . ."⁷ The lodges Libertad and España in Madrid are charged with having been opposed to the exercise of authority by regularly constituted governments.⁸ The principal leader of the Lodge España was Dr. Juan Bautista Mariano Picornell y Gomila, a neglected precursor of the Spanish-American wars for independence.

Picornell was born in Palma on the island of Majorca.⁹ The exact date of his birth has not been revealed, but it was

⁵ Mariano Tirado y Rojas, *La Masonería en España. Ensayo histórico* (2 vols., Madrid, 1892), I, 261-273. Another author states that "The most remote dates concerning Freemasonry in Spain do not go beyond the year 1727, and even these do not seem very exact. . . ." (Vicente de la Fuente, *Historia de las sociedades secretas antiguas y modernas en España y especialmente de la Franc-Masonería*, 3 vols., Vol. 1, Madrid, 1874; Vols. 2-3, Lugo, 1871, I, 68.) However, if Tirado y Rojas is correct in estimating the number of lodges at more than 200 in 1727, Masonry must have been established considerably before 1726, the date given by Fuente for the lodge at Gibraltar.

⁶ Tirado y Rojas, *op. cit.*, I, 273-276; Henry Charles Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain* (4 vols., New York, 1922), IV, 303.

⁷ Tirado y Rojas, *op. cit.*, I, 354.

⁸ *Ibid.*, I, 287.

⁹ *Encyclopedie universal ilustrada Europeo-Americana*, XLIV, 566.

probably some time in 1759.¹⁰ His parents, Don Ponce Picornell and Doña Margarita Gomila,¹¹ were sufficiently wealthy to give him a good education. Picornell was imposing in appearance, judging from a description that was circulated in June, 1797, after his escape from prison at La Guaira. He was tall and well-formed, with blue eyes, a heavy black beard, short black hair, and a broad forehead.¹² About 1780 he married Feliciana Obispo Albares y Torres¹³ and in September, 1781, became the father of Juan Antonio Picornell y Obispo.¹⁴ The family lived in Madrid where Picornell became a member of various scientific and literary societies¹⁵ and engaged in teaching and writing. He published, in 1786, a *Discurso Teórico-Práctico sobre la Educación de la Infancia*,¹⁶ and three years later founded a school that seems to have been in existence as late as 1795. At the same time that he embarked upon this educational venture, Picornell published his *El Maestro de Primeras Letras*.¹⁷ If this ambitious pedagogue harbored treasonable thoughts, and if his association with Masonry had imbued him with the philosophy of the French Revolution, there is little indication of such an attitude in the title of his next book which was a *Discourse on the Best Means*

¹⁰ He was described as being thirty-eight years old in 1797 (Datos sobre Don Juan Mariano Picornell. Tomados de los fondos documentales del Archivo Nacional y de la Academia de la Historia, en Caracas, Venezuela). The Datos here cited were obtained for the present writer by Señor Elías Pérez Sosa, Secretary of the Sociedad Bolivariana de Venezuela, with the coöperation of Dr. Héctor García Chuecos. (Hereafter cited as Sosa, Datos.)

¹¹ Marriage contract between Juan Mariano Picornell . . . and Celeste Villabaso y Andry, New Orleans, May 18, 1815, St. Louis Cathedral Records (New Orleans), III, 155.

¹² Circular from Juan Antonio Cedillo y Llarenas, Curiepe, June 21, 1797, quoted by Manuel Landaeta Rosales, "Historia Patria," *El Universal* (Caracas), March 30, 1910. Copy from Elías Pérez Sosa.

¹³ St. Louis Cathedral Records, III, 155.

¹⁴ In 1785 Picornell published at Madrid an essay in honor of his infant son: *Examen Público, Catechístico, Histórico y Geográfico, a que Expone Don Juan Picornell y Gomila Individuo de la Real Sociedad Económica de Madrid a su Hijo Juan Antonio Picornell y Obispo, de Edad de Tres Años Seis Meses y Veinte y Quatro Días, en un General que Franqueara la Universidad de Salamanca, Domingo Tres de Abril de este Presente Año a las Diez de la Mañana*. A copy of this rare work is in the library of the Hispanic Society of America.

¹⁵ *Encyclopédia universal*, XLIV, 566. One of these societies was the Madrid Económico Society (Tirado y Rojas, *op. cit.*, I, 289). See n. 14.

¹⁶ *Encyclopédia universal*, XLIV, 566. ¹⁷ Tirado y Rojas, *op. cit.*, I, 289.

of *Arousing and Promoting Patriotism in a Monarchy*.¹⁸ Five years after the publication of this *Discourse*, Picornell was devoting all of his talents to the best methods for arousing and promoting treason in a monarchy.

THE SAN BLAS CONSPIRACY

Spain in the late eighteenth century was a fertile field for reform. Charles III made notable strides toward ending some of the corruption, inefficiency, and inequality that had accumulated in the government, but social justice was still the pious hope of dreamers rather than an accepted program. The court at Madrid under Charles IV was the center of moral debasement, with the royal family setting the pace. Rival politicians vied with one another in forming plots and intrigues while they competed for the favor of the licentious Queen. After a brief period of power in 1792, the Count of Aranda was dismissed as principal minister and Manuel Godoy, the Duke of Alcudia, took his place. Many plots were directed against the government of Godoy; one of them was that planned by Juan Mariano Picornell and his associates in Masonry.¹⁹ The spirit of Don Quixote was hovering over that small group of conspirators in the Lodge *España*. They were professors and enthusiastic young men who not only talked revolution and liberty but also prepared to force the "Rights of Man" upon a populace unable to understand that distillation from the minds of the philosophers.

Picornell was the leader of the group of plotters who planned their revolutionary "explosion" to take place on San Blas day, February 3, 1796. His principal assistant was Manuel Cortés Campomanes,²⁰ a rash young man of nineteen and an *ayudante* in the School of the Royal Retinue and the College of Pages. Picornell provided him with money to buy arms and munitions which he concealed in the school pantry. Juan Manzanares, a lawyer of recognized talents, contributed

¹⁸ The Spanish title is *Discurso Sobre los Mejores Medios de Escitar y Fomentar el Patriotismo en una Monarquía . . .*, Madrid, 1790 (*Enciclopedia universal*, XLIV, 566).

¹⁹ Andrés Muriel, *Historia de Carlos IV* (6 vols., Madrid, 1893-1894), II, 155.

²⁰ Rafael María Baralt and Ramón Díaz, *Resumen de la historia de Venezuela . . .* (3 vols., Curazao, 1887), II, 15.

his advice. Sebastián Andrés of Aragón, a competitor for a professorship of mathematics at San Isidro el Real, armed himself with "a double-barreled pistol and a hunting knife" which he took from a gunsmith's house, and "posted pasquinades in the plaza of the Armería, the Puerta del Sol, the plazas Cebada and Mayor, and wrote several letters to the Ministry of State, inscribing on them the arms and emblems of the Spanish republic." José Lax, an Aragonese professor of humanities in Madrid, helped Picornell and Bernardo Garasa to prepare a "Manifesto" and an "Instruction." Garasa, an "Aragonese lawyer and translator of literary works," aided in establishing a legislative junta and an executive junta, each of twenty-five members. After the plot was discovered Garasa escaped from Madrid. Juan Pons Izquierdo, a teacher of French and the humanities, and translator of French revolutionary tracts, was among the ring-leaders. Dr. Joaquín Villalva, an army surgeon attached to the College of Surgery of San Carlos, completed the roster of the inner circle.²¹

The war against France was unpopular with intellectuals like Picornell and his companions in conspiracy.

Republican ideas were fermenting in many Peninsular heads and hearts, full of fire and energy on one hand and on the other irritated by the weakness of the monarch, the impudence of the favorite [Godoy], and the great discord with which that useless and disastrous conflict was being prolonged.²²

Conditions of this sort prepared the way for revolutionary propaganda. With "the principles of Jacobinism flaming in nearly all of Europe,"²³ the obvious remedy was presented as a turn to democracy. The abortive plot formed in the Lodge España had the overthrow of the monarchy and the organization of a republic as its objectives.²⁴ These aims

²¹ Tirado y Rojas, *op. cit.*, I, 290-292, quoting Nicolás Díaz y Pérez, *Historia de la Francmasonería*. Tirado y Rojas gives no page references and the present writer has been unable to obtain a copy of Díaz y Pérez. See also Muriel, *op. cit.*, II, 156.

²² Baralt, *op. cit.*, II, 15.

²³ Casa Irujo to Josef Vidal, Philadelphia, November 7, 1806, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Sección de Estado, legajo 5554, expediente 1. Photographs in the Library of Congress. Hereafter cited as A.H.N., Estado.

²⁴ Baralt, *op. cit.*, II, 15; Tirado y Rojas, *op. cit.*, I, 290, quoting Díaz y Pérez.

were clearly stated in the "Manifesto." The "Instruction" gave directions to the people for uniting, arming, and serving the revolutionary cause.²⁵ Nearly twenty years later, when a chastened Picornell humbly petitioned for pardon from Ferdinand VII, he represented the plot as an "attack on the arbitrary power of the Prince of the Peace which threatened His Majesty's throne and (promised) the ruin of Spain. . . ."²⁶ There is no reason to believe that Picornell was in the least concerned about the fate of His Majesty's throne, and his subsequent career shows him to have been more than willing to contribute to the ruin of His Majesty's American empire.

Picornell apparently began the so-called San Blas conspiracy some time in 1794. In January of the next year he received 6,000 reales from an unrevealed source in Toledo.²⁷ The funds might have come either from the French government or from Masonic lodges, although no proof has been offered to show their origin. The later intercession by the French ambassador, who saved Picornell from the gallows, lends weight to the supposition. Some arms and munitions were acquired,²⁸ and possibly three hundred persons were attracted to the conspiracy by 1796.²⁹ The plot had adherents among the military forces, but the Spanish government failed to pursue the investigation in that direction. Two loyal Spaniards learned about the plans and denounced the leaders in February, 1796. Spanish justice moved with unusual dispatch. Villalva was exiled for four years. Picornell, Lax, Cortés, Garasa, and Pons were condemned to die on the gallows. The French ambassador protested against execution as a punishment for political crimes, and, after the ministers and the Council of Castile recommended leniency, the King commuted the sentences to life imprisonment.³⁰

²⁵ Muriel, *op. cit.*, II, 155.

²⁶ Petition of Juan Mariano Picornell, New Orleans, July 2, 1814, encl. in Onís to San Carlos, Philadelphia, October 3, 1814, A.H.N., Estado, legajo 5558, ex. 12.

²⁷ Tirado y Rojas, *op. cit.*, I, 291, quoting Díaz y Pérez.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ Onís to San Carlos, Philadelphia, October 3, 1814, *loc. cit.*

³⁰ Tirado y Rojas, *op. cit.*, I, 290-293, quoting Díaz y Pérez. Manzanares and Andrés were also sentenced to life imprisonment. Picornell later stated that he

The Spanish government kept its choice array of *reos de estado* for a few months and then sent them, one by one, to the American colonies to complete their punishment. Picornell, the first to go, arrived at La Guaira on December 3, 1796. Captain General Pedro Carbonell ordered him imprisoned and held incomunicado until he could be sent on to Panamá. The order was relaxed to allow a priest to visit him on December 10 to hear his confession. Picornell may have been dangerously ill, but it was next to impossible to keep him from talking to some one! At the end of April, 1797, Sebastián Andrés and José Lax, enroute to Puerto Cabello's dungeons, were landed at La Guaira. Manuel Cortés Campomanes followed in May,³¹ and when Juan Manzanares also arrived, the San Blas conspirators were together again. They soon found a very effective way to exercise their skill at intrigue and caused Carbonell to wish that he had sent them on to their separate destinations.

PICORNELL AND THE GUAL-ESPAÑA PLOT OF 1797

Royal officials in the Spanish colonies were by no means unaware of the revolutionary ideas that seeped into His Majesty's dominions. There were dangerous rebellions and several local disturbances in South America in the eighteenth century before the American and French revolutions occurred. Captain Don Juan Francisco León led a mutiny near Caracas in 1749 to suppress the Compañía Guipuzcoana.³² The Socorro revolt in New Granada was suppressed through treachery in 1781,³³ and three years later "commissioners" were in London seeking support for a separatist movement.³⁴

had been persecuted horribly by Godoy who used the occasion to strengthen his hold on Charles IV, but the complaint that he had spent nineteen months "in the most inhuman imprisonment in a dark dungeon . . ." was an exaggeration by at least two months. (See Petition of Juan Mariano Picornell, New Orleans, July 2, 1814, *loc. cit.*). Picornell's wife, imprisoned in 1796, was still incarcerated when the prisoners were sent to America (Sosa, *Datos*).

³¹ Sosa, *Datos*.

³² Felipe Larrazábal, *Correspondencia general del Libertador Simón Bolívar* . . . (2 vols., New York, 1865-1866), I, 22-23.

³³ Jesús María Henao and Gerardo Arrubla, *History of Colombia* (tr. and ed. by J. Fred Rippy, Chapel Hill, 1938), pp. 163-170.

³⁴ Charles Edward Chapman, *Colonial Hispanic America: A History* (New York, 1933), p. 219.

The defeat of these rebellious efforts had by no means been forgotten when propaganda from France began to disturb the uneasy peace. Royal officials were ordered to be on their guard against a manifesto issued by the National Convention and smuggled into the colonies. The manifesto, an incitement to revolution, became the object of a discreet hunt by Pedro Carbonell after he received the warning in January, 1794. In La Guaira two bold spirits translated a portion of the seditious manifesto and sent it forth under the title "Extract of the Manifesto that the National Convention of Paris Presents to All Nations." These men who dared the wrath of an apprehensive monarchy were Juan Javier de Arambide and Tomás Cardozo. A copy of the "Extract" finally reached Carbonell who presented it to the Audiencia on April 20, 1794; but the Audiencia refused to act in what was considered as a purely executive matter. The Captain General decided to place Arambide and Cardozo under surveillance while he continued the investigation. At least one suspected "Assemblist," José Vergara, was discovered and sent to Spain in July, 1795.³⁵ While Carbonell was worried about propaganda from France, he received a warning from Viceroy José de Espeleta of New Granada that Antonio Nariño had translated and circulated the "Rights of Man." The Captain General, on November 1, 1794, passed the word on to the ecclesiastical authorities to be on their guard.³⁶

Conflicting opinions may be found concerning the influence of revolutionary propaganda in Venezuela. Some writers have shown a tendency to confuse immediate causes, or apol-

³⁵ Héctor García Chuecos, *Estudios de historia colonial venezolana* (2 vols., Caracas, 1937-1938), I, 326-332. In May, 1795, the zambo José Leonardo Chirino led a revolt of the Negroes in the valley of Curimagua, Province of Coro. Chirino was trying to emulate the Haitian Negroes and circulated a rumor that the King had granted emancipation which the whites were refusing to obey. Even after their defeat the Negroes remained greatly discontented (C. Parra-Pérez, *Historia de la primera república de Venezuela* [2 vols., Caracas, 1939], I, 44).

³⁶ García Chuecos, *op. cit.*, I, 331-332. Nariño was arrested and sent to Spain where he escaped in June, 1796. He went on to Paris, then to London, and left for South America in December, 1797, arriving at Coro on March 4, 1798 (*ibid.*, II, 228-229).

ogies, with the more fundamental conditioning factors which created an accumulation of combustible materials. Discontent with Spanish policies was growing in Venezuela at the end of the eighteenth century. Captain General Carbonell attempted, in opposition to the Audiencia, "to redress the grievances of the inhabitants, being convinced of the justness of their complaints." But in spite of his efforts, "it is probable that much dissatisfaction still remained."³⁷ The literate portion of the population, small as it was, had begun to question certain political theories that once enjoyed the protection of religious sanction. This questioning was fostered by the underlying resentment against Spain's economic policies. "Economic uneasiness was a quiet file that was severing the ties which united the colony with the mother country."³⁸ Those with wealth to invest found themselves hampered by exasperating legislation, monopolies, and restraints.³⁹ Such individuals, mostly Creoles, were ready to rebel against an oppressive and anachronistic mercantilism. But first their minds must be released from the stultifying paralysis of thought which had been induced by centuries of indoctrination.

The Venezuelans had been taught that kings could do whatever they desired . . . that they partook of divine power and were gods . . . that only God had the power to punish them. . . .⁴⁰

Then came the Revolution of 1775 in the English colonies and two eminently Catholic nations, France and Spain, violated the dogma that vassalage was ordained by Heaven. This violation of a politico-religious doctrine may have made a deeper impression upon Creole minds than the bare fact that two nations with colonies had aided the dependencies of a third state to gain their independence.⁴¹ The French Revolution and its radical ideas merely added fuel to a smoldering

³⁷ François Ramond Joseph Depons, *Travels in Parts of South America . . .*, in Richard Phillips, *A Collection of Modern and Contemporary Voyages and Travels . . .* (IV, London, 1806), 42.

³⁸ Lino Duarte Level, *Cuadros de la historia militar y civil de Venezuela . . .*, Biblioteca Ayacucho, XX (Madrid, n.d.), p. 237.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 238.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 238-239.

fire, but its influence "in Venezuela was largely secondary."⁴² Nevertheless, accumulated social, political, and economic grievances prepared many people in Venezuela to receive liberalism favorably.⁴³

Juan Mariano Picornell soon found that he was not an unwelcome missionary. With treason to his King deeply imbedded in his heart, with the attractive slogan "América para y por los Americanos"⁴⁴ on his lips, and with the ideology of liberalism permeating his conversation, this dangerous criminal of state converted even his jailers to revolutionary doctrines. The leader of the San Blas conspiracy found it easy to make friends, even though he was in jail, and

to insinuate in their minds the same revolutionary principles for which he had been punished, and to concoct a new conspiracy in order to revolutionize the Province of Caracas as he had intended to do for all of Spain.⁴⁵

Posing "as martyrs of the Republican cause," as victims of Spanish tyranny and the objects of Godoy's persecution, Picornell and his companions in servitude aroused sympathy. Soon they were enjoying special favors and accommodations, including the privilege to communicate freely with those who wanted to see them.⁴⁶ Their propaganda led many rash and restless young men to long for the time when republican principles would reign in Venezuela, and to believe that conditions in the colony would make it easy for them to imitate the revolution they had come to admire.⁴⁷

Picornell, Cortés, and Andrés formed the self-constituted faculty of this prison course at La Guaira in the principles of

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 245.

⁴³ A contemporary Venezuelan scholar maintains that the Creoles "did not have serious and irrefutable reasons for discontent against the regime" (Parra-Pérez, *op. cit.*, I, 3). He also calls attention to "the flourishing state" of Venezuela at the time of the revolution (*ibid.*, I, viii).

⁴⁴ Tirado y Rojas, *op. cit.*, I, 295.

⁴⁵ Casa Irujo to Josef Vidal, Philadelphia, November 7, 1806, encl. in Casa Irujo to Pedro Cevallos, Philadelphia, November 8, 1806, No. 757, A.H.N., Estado, legajo 5554, ex. 1.

⁴⁶ Depons, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

⁴⁷ Baralt, *op. cit.*, II, 15-16.

the French Revolution.⁴⁸ One of their first students was Sergeant José Cordero, a young man of color attached to the Caracas battalion. On March 1, 1797, Cordero learned that the famous Picornell was in jail at La Guaira and he felt a strong desire to see the man who had plotted rebellion in the very heart of the Spanish empire. The jailer, Francisco Oramas, violated his instructions and allowed Cordero to visit the rebellious pedagogue four times. Astonishing ideas were presented to the curious young man: Spain had no right to an America usurped from the Indians; class distinction and slavery were outrageous impositions; a new government would be established "in which all would be equal and commerce would be opened with all nations."⁴⁹ Others came and sat at the feet of the master while his disciples sought adherents to the cause. Sergeant José Rusiñol, Private Pedro Manuel Granadino, the merchant Manuel Montesinos y Rico, Lieutenant Colonel Agustín García, Juan Javier de Arambide, and more than eighty others were involved.⁵⁰

Chief among the Creole leaders were the two men whose names have been somewhat erroneously attached to the conspiracy as its instigators, José María de España and Manuel Gual. España, the *justicia mayor* of the village of Macuto,⁵¹ exhorted the small band of plotters when they met in a ravine and received from them the oath of fidelity and the promise to shed their blood in defense of the fatherland. Another meeting was held in España's home and there the group was joined by Manuel Gual.⁵² The eldest son of Don Matheo Gual, Manuel, was a veteran of "great popularity in the country. . . ."⁵³ Retired with a captain's rank after a service

⁴⁸ "Resumen que, para conocimiento y despacho del Gabinete de Madrid, verificó en 1798 la mesa 6 sección respectiva de la Secretaría de Estado y del Despacho Universal . . .," José Félix Blanco, ed., *Documentos para la historia de la vida pública del Libertador de Colombia, Perú, y Bolivia . . .* (14 vols., Caracas, 1875-1878), I, 332. (Hereafter cited as Blanco, *Documentos*.)

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 340-341.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, I, *passim*.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, I, 332. Parra-Pérez states that España was corregidor of Macuto (*op. cit.*, I, 50). ⁵² Blanco, *Documentos*, I, 341.

⁵³ Francisco de Miranda to Henry Dundas, London, September 30, 1799, Vicente Dávila, ed., *Archivo del General Miranda* (15 vols., Caracas, 1929-1938), XV, 378.

of thirty-three years, he was very discontented and resented the injustice of his position. Here was the man who was selected as commander-in-chief of the coming revolution.⁵⁴

Objectives of the revolution were stated so as to appeal widely to dissatisfied classes. Free trade was to be decreed, and no more gold would be shipped to Spain except as payment for arms. Victims of Spanish injustice were to be freed through a general pardon for past crimes. The "natural equality of all the whites, Indians, Negroes, and mulattoes as brothers in Jesus Christ, equal before God . . .," abolition of slavery with compensation to slave owners, and cessation of the system of tribute, were declared as simple matters of justice.⁵⁵ The plot gained adherents through April and May, 1797, but the government of Pedro Carbonell learned nothing about the scheme though it was widely known in La Guaira that a disturbance was scheduled for the following January.⁵⁶ The leaders had friends who held high positions. Don Antonio Fernández de León, honorary judge of the Royal Audiencia, and two lawyers of that tribunal were associated with Picornell, Gual, and España.⁵⁷

Picornell would not fail to provide the literary paraphernalia for a plot that had such a favorable beginning. Incriminating documents found in the homes of Montesinos y Rico and Manuel Gual were attributed to Picornell's pen. Among them was an "instruction for establishing a general *junta*, propaganda for distribution among the people, orders to parties and citizens in the interior with plans to spread the uprising throughout the province, a design for a flag, and instructions to use a cockade of white, blue, yellow, and red to represent the colonial castes. There was also a song with the refrain 'Viva nuestro Pueblo! Vivan la igualdad, la ley, la justicia, y la libertad!'"⁵⁸

⁵⁴ Blanco, *Documentos*, I, 336.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ Baralt, *op. cit.*, II, 17.

⁵⁷ Carbonell to the Prince of the Peace, Caracas, August 28, 1797, Blanco, *Documentos*, I, 313.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, I, 312-313. The writer has taken liberties with the punctuation. See also Parra-Pérez, *op. cit.*, I, 51.

Preparations of these incendiary materials and consultations with fellow conspirators helped the prisoners to while away their time until plans could be made for their escape. The break, intended for April, did not occur until June 4.⁵⁹ Picornell and Cortés were passed from friend to friend and finally reached España's house in Macuto on June 16. Ten days later, supplied with a small sum of money, they were carried to Curaçao. From there they were to go on to Guadeloupe for help.⁶⁰ Carbonell apparently did not learn about the escape for several days,⁶¹ and then it was too late to do more than post a reward for their capture. Spain and France were allied at the time so the conspirators could not expect much aid from the latter,⁶² but they might acquire assistance from the English who had just succeeded in establishing their control over Trinidad, and that island was comfortably close to Venezuela.

The island of Trinidad had become a refuge for disreputable characters of the lowest type. Privateers lurked in its harbors and sailed out of them to harry British shipping. Daring kidnapers used it as a base to raid the slave quarters on Grenada and the Spanish government was helpless to control the unruly lot.⁶³ When Sir Ralph Abercromby returned to the Caribbean from England in January, 1797, he had instructions to move against Trinidad. A small fleet was made ready and arrived off the island on February 16. The Spaniards offered practically no resistance and capitulated the next day. Abercromby went on about his duties as commander-in-chief in the West Indies and left Lieutenant Colonel Sir Thomas Picton as military commandant and acting governor.⁶⁴ Sir Henry Dundas, Secretary of State for For-

⁵⁹ Larrazábal, *op. cit.*, I, 25. The escape was precipitated by an order to transfer Lax to the Panama prison.

⁶⁰ Blanco, *Documentos*, I, 341.

⁶¹ Carbonell to the Prince of the Peace, Caracas, August 28, 1797, *ibid.*, I, 311. Sebastián Andrés was captured in Caracas and José Lax was retaken in La Guaira (*ibid.*, I, 285).

⁶² Baralt, *op. cit.*, II, 16.

⁶³ H. B. Robinson, *Memoirs of Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Picton . . .* (2 vols., London, 1835), I, 46-47.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 34-36. Picton later played a prominent part in the Peninsular campaign and fell at Waterloo while leading a charge.

eign Affairs, was particularly interested in using Trinidad as a base for spreading propaganda. In accordance with his instructions of April 7, 1797, Picton announced on June 26 that England would aid rebellion in Spain's colonies with ships, arms, and munitions so long as they were needed.⁶⁵

Picton carried out his instructions faithfully. The smuggling trade between Trinidad and Venezuela prospered under the protection of armed launches, and the governor could report that "the market for British manufactures has become very considerable, and is daily increasing...."⁶⁶ Propaganda accompanied smuggled goods and Picton's incitements to rebellion circulated in the Spanish colonies in spite of efforts to smother them. Among the papers of Manuel Gual were some that showed the influence of Sir Thomas Picton.⁶⁷ With Picornell and Andrés supposedly⁶⁸ seeking aid in Guadeloupe, and with Picton eager to help along an attack on Spanish power, the plotters believed that the time was ripe to strike the blow before Charles IV could make peace with England.⁶⁹ The uprising was scheduled for the night of July 16 when the rebels would take the key points in La Guaira and move on to Caracas.⁷⁰

Don Manuel Montesinos y Rico was too zealous in his efforts to attract converts to the cause. On July 13 he revealed the plot to his barber, a *pardo*⁷¹ named Juan José Chirinos, and urged him to enlist others and collect arms. Chirinos was greatly disturbed. He discussed the matter

⁶⁵ Encl. in Martín de Garay to Juan Ruiz de Apodaca, Sevilla, March 23, 1809, Archivo General de Simancas, Estado, legajo 8284. Typescripts in the Ayer Collection, Newberry Library. See also *Archivo del General Miranda*, XV, 171-172, and William Spence Robertson, *The Life of Miranda* (2 vols., Chapel Hill, 1929), I, 161.

⁶⁶ Picton to Dundas, Port of Spain, July 26, 1797, Robinson, *op. cit.*, I, 65.

⁶⁷ *Archivo del General Miranda*, XV, 176.

⁶⁸ Baralt doubted Picornell's intention to aid the rebellion and believed that he and his fellow prisoners merely used the scheme as a means of effecting their own escape (*op. cit.*, II, 17).

⁶⁹ Baralt, *op. cit.*, II, 16.

⁷⁰ Blanco, *Documentos*, I, 313.

⁷¹ The word *pardo* is a general term that was used to refer to any person of mixed race. Thus, mestizos, mulattoes, zambos, and other crossings were all *pardos* (Parra-Pérez, *op. cit.*, I, x).

with two friends and the three young men then went to their confessor, Don Domingo Lander, with the astonishing news. Lander went to Padre Juan Vicente de Echeverría who in turn relayed the intelligence to the provisor, Don Andrés de Manzanares. Then Manzanares carried the news to Captain General Carbonell. Montesinos y Rico was arrested and very soon Carbonell learned from his papers the names of the chief plotters. The Captain General moved with such speed that the jails were quickly filled with the guilty ones, but Manuel Gual and José María España made good their escape to Curaçao.⁷²

With so many of their accomplices already incarcerated, those still at liberty hastened to confess under the impression that they would be pardoned. When the wave of repentance passed by the jails had received a cross-section of the population: "ecclesiastics, merchants, farmers, military officials . . . , veterans, militia, soldiers, corporals, sergeants, artisans, whites, mulattoes, Americans [Creoles], and Spaniards."⁷³ At least eighty-nine persons were involved in the plot. The four ring leaders, Picornell, Cortés, Gual, and España, escaped;⁷⁴ but España returned to La Guaira and was captured on April 29. He was executed in May, 1799.⁷⁵ A total of six were hanged, thirty-two were sentenced to prison, and thirty-three were exiled.⁷⁶

Captain General Carbonell may have been too optimistic when he assured the Prince of the Peace that the conspiracy of 1797 had no serious results and that the province would remain tranquil.⁷⁷ In the light of subsequent events, one must

⁷² Blanco, *op. cit.*, I, 312-313; Baralt, *op. cit.*, II, 17-18; Parra-Pérez, *op. cit.*, I, 51, differs in slight details.

⁷³ Baralt, *op. cit.*, II, 18. The nobility of Caracas met and assured Carbonell of their loyalty to the crown (El Conde de Tovar *et al.* to the King, Caracas, August 1, 1797 [Blanco, *Documentos*, I, 294-295]).

⁷⁴ Blanco, *op. cit.*, I, 332.

⁷⁵ Baralt, *op. cit.*, II, 19.

⁷⁶ *El Universal* (Caracas), March 30, 1910. The largest contingent, 17, went to Puerto Rico where they arrived on November 30, 1797 (Governor Ramón de Castro to Eugenio de Llaguno, Puerto Rico, November 30, 1797, Torres Lanzas, *op. cit.*, I, 200).

⁷⁷ On December 28, 1797, Torres Lanzas, *op. cit.*, I, 202. The plot of 1797 was probably a factor in preventing Carbonell from taking steps to attack the English at Trinidad (Robinson, *op. cit.*, I, 66).

conclude that the Picornell-Gual-España plot revealed somewhat the extent of discontent in Venezuela. An enlightened government would have taken measures to remove causes for complaint against the crown, but that was too much to expect of Spain under Godoy and Charles IV. Moreover, the fact that Picornell, while a prisoner of state, could have found so many substantial citizens ready to hear the message of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity, substantiates Francisco de Miranda's assurances that a considerable number of Venezuelans were ready to throw off the Spanish yoke. Juan Mariano Picornell derived enough encouragement from the conspiracy to continue his efforts against the Spanish empire.

After their escape from La Guaira the fugitives were aided in Curaçao by one Juan Bautista Tierce who was friendly with a French agent.⁷⁸ But Picornell and Cortés did not tarry long on the Dutch island. On June 29, the day of their arrival, they boarded the French schooner *La Actividad* which, after putting in at La Guaira for supplies on July 2,⁷⁹ sailed for Guadeloupe. Captain General Pedro Carbonell learned of their new refuge and tried vainly to persuade the French governor to surrender the fugitives.⁸⁰ Gual and España apparently remained in Curaçao for a time and were reported to be living with Felipe Piar.⁸¹

Picornell and Cortés did not desert their associates in Caracas but applied themselves energetically to preparing revolutionary propaganda. In Guadeloupe they turned out material patterned after the French propaganda. Picornell translated and published 729 copies of a paper-bound book in octavo⁸² under the title *Derechos del Hombre y del Ciudadano con Varias Máximas Republicanas y un Discurso Preliminar Dirigido á los Americanos*.⁸³ He also wrote and printed a song called *La Caramañola Americana*, while Cortés turned

⁷⁸ Blanco, *Documentos*, I, 342.

⁷⁹ Sosa, *Datos*.

⁸⁰ Pedro Carbonell to the Governor of Guadeloupe, Caracas, August 6, 1797, Torres Lanzas, *op. cit.*, I, 185.

⁸¹ Carbonell to the Governor of Curaçao, Caracas, July 30, 1797, *ibid.*, I, 184.

⁸² Blanco, *Documentos*, I, 328.

⁸³ López Quintana, Regente de la Audiencia, to the Audiencia, February 10, 1798, Torres Lanzas, *op. cit.*, I, 202.

out a *Canción Americana*.⁸⁴ There was likewise a proclamation to the "Free Inhabitants of Spanish America" inciting them to rebellion. Copies of all of these materials were carried to Venezuela by spies, and on December 11, 1797, the Audiencia expressed its alarm at the influence of such seditious papers and recommended the greatest vigilance throughout the captaincy general to prevent their introduction.⁸⁵ The writers in Guadeloupe continued their work, adding "Hymns of Liberty" and "The American Constitution" to their output. Carbonell found it "impossible to describe the poison" contained in these productions.⁸⁶

Picornell's literary activities did not require his full time and he acted as the principal agent of a society "dedicated to arousing disorder in the Spanish provinces. . . ."⁸⁷ He found that Governor Sir Thomas Picton of Trinidad was willing to coöperate in introducing the revolutionary matter into Venezuela. Picton was especially interested in prospects of conquering at least part of the neighboring mainland and constantly but unsuccessfully urged the project upon his superiors.⁸⁸ Apparently Picton began to plan with Picornell, Cortés, Juan Manzanares, Manuel Gual, and José María de España for a possible invasion of Venezuela, or at least to promote internal rebellion. Picornell was seen in Curaçao on February 4, 1798, and then the governor of the island deported him on the corsair *Independence* for an unknown destination.⁸⁹ The fugitive was then calling himself Mariano Parra.⁹⁰ He may have returned to Guadeloupe, but probably the *Inde-*

⁸⁴ Blanco, *Documentos*, I, 339. Copies of the *Canción Americana* were picked up in Caracas as early as March, 1798 (Esteban Fernández de León to Francisco de Saavedra, Caracas, March 31, 1798, Torres Lanzas, *op. cit.*, I, 209).

⁸⁵ Blanco, *op. cit.*, I, 327-328.

⁸⁶ Carbonell to the Prince of the Peace, March 23, 1798, quoted by William Spence Robertson, "Francisco de Miranda and the Revolutionizing of Spanish America," *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1907* (2 vols., Washington, 1908, in I, 189-528), I, 224.

⁸⁷ Consulta of the Council of the Indies [April 30, 1816], A.H.N., Estado, legajo 5558, ex. 12.

⁸⁸ Robinson, *op. cit.*, I, 69.

⁸⁹ Sosa, *Datos*.

⁹⁰ The *alférez de fragata*, Don Antonio de Villavicencio, reported that he had seen Picornell in Curaçao and gave his assumed name (Pedro Carbonell to the Prince of the Peace, Caracas, March 23, 1798, Torres Lanzas, *op. cit.*, I, 208).

pendence took him on to Martinique or Trinidad. By this time Venezuelan authorities were considerably alarmed. From Maracaibo came news that "Picornell, Gual and others resident in Guadelupe" were planning an expedition against Caracas.⁹¹

Details of the plot against Venezuela are lacking, but Picton probably encouraged the veterans of Madrid and Caracas to formulate their schemes so that they might be on hand should the British decide to invade Tierra Firme. The Council of the Indies was satisfied that Picornell and Manzanares conspired with Picton to revolutionize the mainland and had the support of Don Cristóbal Robles,⁹² an old inhabitant of Trinidad.⁹³ Picton assured his superior in the West Indies that Venezuela was ripe for revolt, and the splendid position of Trinidad should not be overlooked. The colonials would rise against the government if supported by some foreign power. Cumaná should be captured and arms sent to rebels in the interior. He had "a person perfectly master of the Spanish language, who can prepare all the necessary declarations and papers."⁹⁴ That "person" was Manuel Gual whom, with "another of the Principal Actors in the projected Revolution of Caracas," Picton used to carry on "a correspondence with the Continent, and [held] in readiness for any active Employment."⁹⁵

Picornell's activity was apparently that of traveling in the West Indies to gain support for the plot and recruits for the revolutionary society he was promoting. The plot to revolutionize Venezuela had reached an advanced stage by April, 1799, but the authorities of that colony were not unaware of their danger. Don Luis de la Peña, an agent sent on

⁹¹ José Vazquez Tellez, Comandante de la Guayra, to the Captain-General, February 4, 1798, anexo 1 in Carbonell to the Prince of the Peace, Caracas, March 23, 1798, *ibid.*, I, 204.

⁹² Consulta of the Council of the Indies [April 30, 1816], A.H.N., Estado, leg. 5558, ex. 12. ⁹³ Robinson, *op. cit.*, I, 55.

⁹⁴ Picton to Lt. Gen. Cuyler, Port of Spain, May 25, 1798, *ibid.*, II, 401-406.

⁹⁵ Picton to H. Dundas, Trinidad, April 21, 1799, *Trinidad Historical Publications* (The Trinidad Historical Society, n.d.), No. 64, p. 3. The other "actor" was either Juan Manzanares or another of the refugees.

a secret mission to Trinidad "to ascertain the designs of España, Gual and Picornel[1]" gave important information.⁹⁶ More definite warning of Picornell's whereabouts came unexpectedly through a traveler from San Lúcar de Barrameda, one Don José Mariano Aloy.⁹⁷ Among the passengers who boarded the boat from San Lúcar in the Bermudas on April 5, 1799, was one who called himself Vicente Mariane. To Aloy he seemed about forty years of age, five feet three or four inches in height, dark, somewhat subdued in appearance, and he walked with a limp. His eyes were small, dark, inflamed and watery. A tooth was missing. Mariane said he was a nephew of Cabarrus.⁹⁸ Soon he indulged in denunciations of the king and the Church, but found passengers willing to challenge his violent opinions. Aloy was something of a spectator during the argument and to him Mariane revealed that his real name was Picornell. He was going to Guadeloupe to meet Gual and España, with whom he had formed a plan to invade Venezuela under the protection of three unnamed powers. Eloy, however, believed that Picornell was more likely to gather a group of pirates in the Windward Islands. Gual and España, according to the talkative intriguer, were in contact with people in Venezuela. Three points were available for an invasion and many persons could be depended

⁹⁶ Copia de informe de D. Luis de la Peña al Gobernador de Margarita . . . , Pampatar, May 9, 1799, anexo 3º. á la carta número 6 del Presidente de la Audiencia de Caracas de 22 de Junio de 1799, Torres Lanzas, *op. cit.*, I, 237.

⁹⁷ Copia de un informe de D. José Mariano Aloy al Capitán General de Caracas . . . , Caracas, May 28, 1799, anexo 10 á la carta número 6 del Presidente de la Audiencia de Caracas, de 22 de Junio de 1799; *ibid.*, I, 241. The Captain General was then Brigadier D. Manuel de Guevara Vasconcelos. Pedro Carbonell became too ill to continue his work in March, 1799. Don Joaquín de Zubillaga was in charge from March 16 to April 6 when Guevara Vasconcelos took over (Joaquín de Zubillaga to Secretario de Estado y del Despacho Universal de Hacienda, Caracas, March 16, 1799, No. 1, and to Francisco de Saavedra, Caracas, April 6, 1799, No. 2; *ibid.*, I, 232).

⁹⁸ François, comte de Cabarrus, was born in Bayonne in 1752 and married a lady from Saragossa in 1772. He became a minister of finance in Spain, was imprisoned from 1790 to 1792, vindicated, and created a count (*Biographie Universelle*, Paris, 1812, VI, 434). The description of Picornell given by Aloy is far different from that which was circulated at the time of his escape from jail at La Guaira in June, 1797.

upon to aid them. In spite of the efforts of royal officials, many copies of his "Evangelio" had reached the common people.⁹⁹ But José María de España would not meet Picornell in Guadeloupe. Captured by the police in April when he returned to Venezuela, España was executed on May 8, 1799.¹⁰⁰ Since Gual and Manzanares were in Trinidad, the Captain General thought that Picornell would probably join them there.¹⁰¹

España's misfortune may have been a factor in causing the English to abandon the plot.¹⁰² The Captain General continued, nevertheless, his efforts to apprehend Picornell. He had, on January 26, 1799, ordered the fugitive to be hanged at once should he be captured.¹⁰³ On June 4 he sent out a circular offering 12,000 pesos for Picornell dead or alive.¹⁰⁴ Gual, at least, did not lose hope and he wrote to Francisco de Miranda in London that success might still attend his efforts if only he could get assistance at the beginning.¹⁰⁵ Miranda used the letter to add weight to his assertion that Venezuela could be revolutionized,¹⁰⁶ but the companions of 1797 found little to encourage them. As late as October, 1800, Guevara Vasconcelos was reporting that Gual, Picornell, and others were still planning rebellion with the aid of the English;¹⁰⁷ but in January, 1801, he could announce the welcome news that Manuel Gual and Juan Manzanares had died in Trinidad.¹⁰⁸ Manuel Cortés became a naturalized French

⁹⁹ José Mariano Aloy to the Captain General, Caracas, May 28, 1799. Revolución de Gual y España, II, fol. 177. MSS of the Academia Nacional de la Historia, Caracas. Extracted for the writer by Elías Pérez Sosa and Dr. Héctor García Chuecos. See also C. Parra-Pérez, *Historia de la primera República de Venezuela*, I, 54.

¹⁰⁰ Baralt, *op. cit.*, II, 19.

¹⁰¹ Manuel de Guevara Vasconcelos to the First Secretary of State, Caracas, June 22, 1799, Blanco, *Documentos*, I, 362.

¹⁰² Consulta of the Council of the Indies [April 30, 1816], A.H.N., Estado, leg. 5558, ex. 12.

¹⁰³ Torres Lanzas, *op. cit.*, I, 229-230. ¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 243.

¹⁰⁵ Gual to Miranda, Port of Spain, July 12, 1799, Vicente Dávila, ed., *Archivo del General Miranda*, XV, 372-373.

¹⁰⁶ Miranda to Henry Dundas, London, September 30, 1799, *ibid.*, XV, 378.

¹⁰⁷ Manuel de Guevara Vasconcelos to the First Secretary of State, Caracas, October 6, 1800, Torres Lanzas, *op. cit.*, I, 285.

citizen in Guadeloupe and assured the Captain General that he had no intention of inspiring any Spaniard with "ideas that might cause disturbances in His Majesty's dominions. . . ."¹⁰⁹

A DECADE OF DISAPPOINTMENTS

The ranks of the San Blas and Caracas conspirators had been reduced almost to the vanishing point. So far as discovered records are concerned, Picornell himself all but disappeared from sight. At least part of the time between 1801 and 1806 he was in Baltimore and Philadelphia. His activities, as he later maintained, may have included teaching chemistry and experimental physics in "the College of Baltimore."¹¹⁰ Kindred spirits knew where he was although the Marqués de Casa Irujo failed to penetrate his alias. It was not until November, 1806, that the Spanish envoy discovered that the "famous Picornell" had been living so close to His Majesty's diplomatic mission. Then, while scanning a Philadelphia newspaper list of unclaimed letters, he saw one item of considerable interest: the name Don B^{ta} Picornell. Casa Irujo obtained the letter and found it to have been written from New Orleans on January 20, 1806, by one Juan Bautista de Altamira. The letter was unintelligible unless read in terms of certain code expressions, but Casa Irujo was convinced that he had found evidence pointing to the existence of a revolutionary society. Altamira, according to his letter, was one of the Caracas plotters. By capturing him it might be possible to learn details about the society.¹¹¹ Josef Vidal was entrusted with the mission to arrest Altamira.¹¹² He carried out the

¹⁰⁹ Cortés to the Captain General, Curaçao, August 6, 1800, anexo 25 a la carta no. 34 de Guevara Vasconcelos de 31 de Agosto de 1800, *ibid.*, I, 280.

¹¹⁰ Petition of Juan Mariano Picornell to the Ayuntamiento, Puerto Príncipe, September 26, 1820, Archivo Nacional, Havana, Gobierno Superior Civil, legajo 1634, expediente 82,179. The writer is indebted to Dr. Joaquín Llaverías for various materials from the Archivo Nacional. The "college of Baltimore" is poor identification, since *colegio* is a general term for school. It is reasonably certain that Picornell's teaching experience in the United States occurred before 1806.

¹¹¹ Casa Irujo to Pedro Cevallos, Philadelphia, November 8, 1806, A.H.N., Estado, leg. 5545, ex. 1.

¹¹² Casa Irujo to Josef Vidal, Philadelphia, November 7, 1806, encl. in Casa Irujo to Cevallos, Philadelphia, November 8, 1806, *ibid.*

assignment successfully but nothing was learned about a secret society.

Picornell was not connected with Miranda's *Leander* expedition since he was in Martinique during that adventure and later left for France.¹¹³ Perhaps he sailed from New York for Nantes.¹¹⁴ By October, 1806, Dr. Picornell had found many friends in the France of Napoleon I. The Medical Society of Paris received him as a "corresponding associate member" on October 25. The certificate described him as "M. Juan Bautisna Mariano Picornell, professor of Salamanca and former councilor of that university, member of the Vascongada Society, of that of Madrid, Talavera, etc. etc."¹¹⁵ In 1807 the Spanish ambassador in Paris sought in vain to have the new member arrested.¹¹⁶ Perhaps that is why he returned to Martinique,¹¹⁷ possibly in 1807, where he remained until the French invasion of Spain. This act of perfidy caused him to abandon the French, so he said, and with Manuel Cortés, "his companion in misfortune," he decided to go to England and then to Spain to fight for his country. The "penitent" disciples of revolution went to Barbados and there Picornell fell ill; but Cortés continued on to London and asked that both be allowed to enter Spain. Cortés asked in vain for two years. Picornell, too, asked and was met by silence. The aging pedagogue began to despair of ever seeing his mother country again.¹¹⁸ While he was left alone in his sorrow, Cortés was keeping busy. When Miranda began to publish his propaganda sheet *El Colombiano* in London,¹¹⁹ Manuel Cortés was

¹¹³ Casa Irujo to Cevallos, Philadelphia, November 8, 1806, *ibid.*

¹¹⁴ Muriel, *Historia de Carlos IV*, II, 156.

¹¹⁵ Petition of Juan Mariano Picornell to the Ayuntamiento, Puerto Principe, September 26, 1820, *loc. cit.*

¹¹⁶ Muriel, *op. cit.*, II, 156.

¹¹⁷ Petition of Juan Mariano Picornell to the King, New Orleans, July 2, 1814, encl. in Onís to San Carlos, Philadelphia, October 3, 1814, A.H.N., Estado, leg. 5558, ex. 12. Neither Picornell nor Onís gave a satisfactory account of the former's movements.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁹ Manuel Abella to Juan Ruiz de Apodaca, London, March 27, 1810, Archivo General de Simancas, Estado, leg. 8173 anterior. Typescripts in the Ayer Collection, Newberry Library. Abella was a secret agent.

one of his assistants.¹²⁰ This editorial activity lasted but a short time. In May, 1810, he prepared to sail on the *San Guillermo*, alias *Don Hermanos*, for Vera Cruz via Coruña.¹²¹

In Venezuela other men were succeeding where Picornell, Gual, and España had failed. Aided by the deposition of Charles IV and Ferdinand VII, revolutionary ideas rapidly gained headway. Venezuelans, like the Spanish people themselves, refused to accept Joseph Bonaparte as their king. On April 19, 1810, the Captain General was deposed and a provisional junta assumed the government. Miranda returned from London in 1810 and worked actively for independence. On July 5, 1811, the Congress at Caracas declared the colony independent of Spain.¹²² It was this Congress that welcomed Picornell back to Venezuela on November 20, 1811, "to offer his services in favor of the Fatherland. . . ."¹²³ Back again at familiar work, Picornell was busy with turning out revolutionary tracts that were influential in encouraging the movement against Spain. He was appointed to the post of *Intendente de Policía* in Caracas and held that position until the surrender of the revolutionary government to Domingo Monteverde in July, 1812, and then fled to the United States.¹²⁴ According to his own account, Picornell was brought by inconceivable circumstances and a sorrowful position to join the insurgents of Venezuela. But, he assured the King,

it is common knowledge that his conduct in Caracas as well as in the Internal Provinces has favored and not prejudiced any of his compatriots, and it will be easy to prove, should it be necessary, that his actions have constantly had as their object that of arousing the furor of partisan spirit and promoting the welfare of humanity.¹²⁵

¹²⁰ Apodaca to Eusebio de Bardaxí y Azara, London, May 15, 1810, *ibid.*

¹²¹ [Apodaca] to the Captain General of the Kingdom of Galicia, London, May 19, 1810, *ibid.*

¹²² Robertson, *The Life of Miranda*, II, 104-119; Parra-Pérez, *op. cit.*, II, 38-56.

¹²³ Act of the Constituent Congress, November 20, 1811, Sosa, *Datos*.

¹²⁴ Onís to San Carlos, Philadelphia, October 3, 1814, A.H.N., *Estado*, legajo 5558, ex. 12.

¹²⁵ Petition of Juan Mariano Picornell to the King, New Orleans, July 2, 1814, *loc. cit.*

The *Intendente de Policía* of Caracas was certainly engaged in "arousing the furor of partisan spirit" while holding a position of trust under the republican government. There were in Caracas many conservatives among the Creoles and the *godos*, as the peninsulars were sometimes called. These individuals were not reconciled to the extreme liberalism of Miranda and his *Sociedad Patriótica*, and they did what they could to promote lack of confidence in the *generalismo*. Picornell fell in with their schemes to such an extent that some of the patriots accused him of being an enemy of Miranda, unpopular, and unfit to hold his post. Moreover, he abused the people of color and was altogether too zealous in imposing fines.¹²⁶

With these charges on record, substantiated somewhat by his own statement, one is justified in wondering why Picornell should be guilty of such actions. Many explanations may be advanced, but the principal reason was probably his desire for fame. His was a minor rôle in the first republic. Miranda held the center of the stage while Juan Mariano Picornell barely had room to thrust his head out of the wings. The conservatives would need to flatter him a little, to point out how small was his reward for such great suffering, and he would be a willing accomplice in plots against Miranda.

Back in Philadelphia the wandering disciple of revolution began to practice medicine under an assumed name. But patients failed to flock to him, so he made overtures to Don Luis de Onís, the unrecognized Spanish minister. A third person informed Onís that Picornell wished to reconcile himself with Spain. The minister replied that the penitent should come in person and then the matter would be considered.¹²⁷ Negotiations ended at that point because more interesting prospects were opening for the adventurous Picornell. Soon he was floating down the Ohio on a flatboat, bound for Natchez in company with José Alvarez de Toledo and Henry Adams Bullard. As the boat moved along he regaled his companions

¹²⁶ Parra-Pérez, *op. cit.*, II, 243-244.

¹²⁷ Onís to San Carlos, Philadelphia, October 3, 1814, A.H.N., Estado, legajo 5558, ex. 12.

with tales of his deeds and showed them the scars that Spanish irons had left on his ankles.¹²⁸

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¹²⁸ Picornell remained with Toledo until the latter's defeat in Texas in August, 1813, and then made a futile attempt to head a "government" of the Internal Provinces. After this fiasco he became reconciled with Ferdinand VII and served Spain as a secret agent in New Orleans. In 1820 he went to Cuba where he died five years later. Picornell's career in Texas, Louisiana, and Cuba will be described by the writer elsewhere.

DOCUMENTS

CREASSY'S PLAN FOR SEIZING PANAMA

The defense of Panama has sorely troubled every state holding that strategic strip of land. Although Spain was the first European power to occupy Panama, she was not long able to enjoy undisputed possession of the Isthmus. A number of latecomers attempted to gain a foothold on the Darien coasts, the most powerful and persistent being the English. Both the work of patriotic individuals and the repercussions of European wars in the New World tended to further England's designs on Panama. From Drake's time, whether in wars or private adventures, Panama always appeared to be an objective of the British.

These five letters, written by James Creassy to Lord Sheffield, contain explicit military and naval directions necessary for the seizure of Panama. They show great eagerness for the establishment of Great Britain as the leading commercial nation and the ruin of the trade of Spain and France. Written in November and December, 1804, the letters indicate that Creassy's Plan had not changed basically but had only been enlarged upon since his statement of May 15, 1790. The latter manuscript appeared in print for the first time in Vol. 13, No. 1, February, 1933, of *THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*. Preceding the document, the contributor, Lucia Burk Kinnaird, presented a very complete account of British designs on Panama, and for that reason it seems unnecessary to sketch the history of the British designs at this point.

Nevertheless, several differences between the 1790 manuscript and the 1804 letters should be mentioned. It is not certain to whom the earlier statement was directed, but the later Plan was sent to the Earl of Sheffield, member of Parliament from Coventry, and one of the leading authorities of the time on matters relating to commerce and agriculture. Lord Sheffield had received wide recognition due to his "Observations on the commerce of the American States," written in 1783. This was written in opposition to the bill introduced by Pitt, earlier the same year, proposing the relaxation of navigation laws in favor of the United States. It was the beginning of a long controversy, and finally led to the abandonment of the proposal. The Navigation

Act was defended and perhaps saved by Sheffield's pen.¹ Creassy wrote to Lord Sheffield in the hope that he would use his influence to persuade Sir Joseph Banks to back the Plan. Creassy wrote, "That great and useful Gentleman Sir Joseph Banks is better acquainted with the Spanish possessions, and all the South Seas, than any man now living and is the most proper person to be appointed Chairman of the Committee above mentioned. . . ." Certainly Sir Joseph Banks, president of the Royal Society and munificent patron of science, was a likely man to lead such an undertaking as that proposed by Creassy.

Whereas the 1790 manuscript only mentions France once, briefly, the 1804 Plan states plainly that France and Spain "must be reckoned as one and the same enemy." Creassy appears to be very much aware that in May, 1803, England had declared war on France, and that Napoleon, a year and one-half later, was proposing an invasion of England. Napoleon had gathered a large force for that purpose with vessels suitable for the transport of his troops, which were concentrated along the northern French coast. Spain was strongly opposed to England on account of raids upon her commerce, and Napoleon intended to use the alliance of Spain as well as a confederation of minor German states beyond the Rhine. At the time Creassy wrote his 1804 letters the Napoleonic plan of invasion had matured, and the English efforts at forming a new coalition against France were in full swing.

Creassy dwells more upon details in his later statements than in his earlier one. He seems to have thought out more clearly how best to achieve success with his Plan. Perhaps one of the most fascinating proposals to be found only in the later manuscripts is that of a subterranean canal. He advises, "If this *subterraneous* Canal is cut a little deeper than the River Chagre, it may be carried through the Mountains on a dead Level and probably very near if not quite to the City of Panama without a Lock."

Fourteen years after presenting the 1790 Plan, an older and somewhat philosophical Creassy writes the following of projectors in general and William Paterson specifically:

This very Paterson tho an obscure Scotchman was the principal person who projected the Plan [of colonizing Panama in 1699] for the Bank of England. But the persons to whom he communicated the same, made use of it as their own, behaved civil to him for a while and then shook him off, as too commonly happens to such projectors.

It is unfortunate that almost nothing is known of James Creassy aside from the fact that he was for a time superintendent of the docks

¹ E. Gibbon, *Memoirs* (ed. 1837), p. 108.

at Calcutta. In that capacity he was once sent by Colonel Henry Watson to England to represent the case to complete the docks at Calcutta.² The fact that he possessed a sound knowledge of engineering is attested by his publication, in 1777, of the report ". . . respecting the drainage of the Middle & South Levels of the Fens called the Bedford-Levels."³ That Creassy was an astute naval strategist who appreciated thoroughly the difficulties confronting his plan for seizing Panama his letters prove conclusively.

The letters were discovered recently while the editor was examining documents in the Sir Joseph Banks collection of the Sutro branch of the California State Library, in San Francisco. So it is quite likely that the man Creassy wished to consider the Plan, Sir Joseph Banks, did at least read the letters. That Sir Joseph did anything more than read the letters, if indeed he did that, appears unlikely. Adolph Sutro purchased the Banks material in the spring of 1886, at the auction conducted by Sotheby, Wilkinson, & Hodge. The 1804 Creassy letters are printed here for the first time.

MARTIN ELLIOTT THOMAS.

University of California,
Berkeley.

Letters to the Right Hon^{bl} Lord Sheffield

I

My Lord

The outlines of the grand Plan for taking possession and fortifying the most important pass to be found on the habitable Globe: I mean the Isthmus of *Panamay*, I first communicated to the right Hon^{ble}, the Earl of Donmore when he was Governor of New York in North America, about the year 1770, and his Lordship highly aproved of the same; but he from the best of motives having made the Plan too public, the spies employed by our enemies, to watch all the motions of his Lordship, became acquainted with it, particularly an eminent foreign Engineer called Benzell: and the Falkland Island dispute was soon after patched up; Lord Donmore was removed from the Government, and the business no more thought of.—

I afterwards communicated the whole project to that eminent Engineer Col. Henry Watson, who made several improvements to the original design: And it became one of his most favourite schemes for checking the ambitious designs of our intrigueing enemies, and he often said that if he had that spot, and the Isthmus of Suiz well fortifi-

² *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. 60, p. 7.

³ British museum. *Catalogue of printed books*. V. Cramp-Critius, col. 72.

fied, he could govern the whole world. But alas My Lord this great man Like Lord Piggot, and many other brave men, fell a victim to his Loyalty in the prime of his life.—Nor is any man who brings forward any great national Plan for the Salvation of our Country, secure from that treachery that has so long been dismembering the British Empire.—I speak fellingly, but wile face the dainger, and make one effort more to discharge my Duty, at this auful crisis—

It is well known by every man acquainted with the Sinues of War, that it is the Wealth annually drawn from the Spanish mines in South America, that has enabled our enemies to convulse the world, and deluge Europe with human blood for so many years past. This being the grand spring of all their actions: every scheme that actually tends to cut off, or obstruct that current of wealth from flowing into the coffers of our enemies, is deserving of the most serious attention, and powerful support.

Before I give your Lordship the particulars of this great National Plan, which I have the honour to recommend to your Lordships serious attention and patronage, I think it proper to give a discription of the most important passage I propose we shall take possession of; which is as follows.—

The mouth of the River *Chagre* which has its source in the Mountains near *Cruces*, on the narrowest part of the Isthmus of *Panama*, is navigable for flat Bottomed vessels up to the town of *Cruces*, which is within fourteen miles of the great South Sea, and the City of *Panama*.—The enterance into this river is in the Westren Ocean or North Sea, in Latitude $9^{\circ}18' 40''$ North, and about $80^{\circ}30'$ West Longitude and is definded by a small fort, situated on a steep rock, on the East side, near the Shore.—This fort is called *San Lorenzo de Chagre*. Is commanded by a Governor and a Lieutenant, appointed by the King, and the troops under them are sent from *Panama* and frequently changed.—

About 8 toises from the above fort is a town of the same name: The houses are principally of reeds, and the inhabitants Negroes, Mulattoes, and Mestizos.—

Oposite on a low and level ground stands the Royal Custom house, where an account is taken of all goods going up the River Chagre; and the bredth of the River here is about 120 toises; but gradually decreases in width as you approach *Cruces* where it ceases to be navigable, and is there only 20 Toises broad. The nearest distance between the mouth and *Cruces* is 21 miles, but the distance along the several windings of the River is 43 miles.—The Banks is impassable, on account of the closeness of the trees, and bushes, but a few negroes employed would soon clear a good haling way along one of its Banks,

and remove a few dead Trees on the same side which now lie in the river; and make a better passage for Boats—

The prodigious magnitude of the trunks of some of the Trees, on the borders of this river, particularly the *Cedar*, renders them very valuable for constructing floating Butteries and other works of Defence, and for making Boats called *Banjas*, employed on this river. There is another kind of Boats used on this River, called *Chatas*. The first are formed of one Piece of wood, and it is astonishing to find Trees of such prodigious bulk, some of them being eleven Paris feet broad, and carrying conveniently five hundred quintals.—The *Chatas* are composed of several pieces of timber, are very wide, flat bottomed, and draw but little water.— Both sorts have a cabin for the conveniency of passengers, and an awning from head to stern, supported by wooden stantions to keep of the Sun, and rains.—Each of these Vessels are navigated up the river to *Cruces* by about 18 Negroes, and a pilot. They row about one third of the way up the river: but then the current becomes more rapped, and they are obliged to set the vessels along with poles: the water running about ten Toises in 26 seconds and a half.—But the boats is carried downwards by the force of the current only.—

The Navigation of this River might be vastly improved, was it in any other hands but the lazy Spaniards, which will be more fully explained hereafter.

All the principal commerce carried on between the City of *Panama* and *Porto Bella*, and indeed it is the center and great road between the old world and South America. The treasure collected from *Chili*, *Peru*, great part of *Terra Firma* and *New Spain*, is conveyed accross this narrow Isthmus, and in short this passage is the key of all the Spanish wealth in those immense regions.—

The City of *Panama* is built on the coast washed by the Great South Sea, about four miles and a half from the old City which was sacked and burnt, by Jahn Morgan an English adventurer in 1670. It has a wall of free stone, and has generally a tollerable good garrison of regulars, part of which are sent to do duty at *Darine*, *Port Bello* and the Fort at the mouth of the river *Chagre*.—

Near the City, towards the North West, is a mountain called *Ancon*, whose perpendicular height is 101 toises. The subarb is larger than the City. The houses towards the Country are chiefly thatched with straw, and easily to be distroyed by fire. Those nearer the Sea, are of more solid materials, being chiefly built of stone.—

The harbour of this City is formed in its *road*, and well sheltered by several Islands, the principal of which are the Islands *De Naos*,

De Perico and *Flamenco*, and the anchoring is before the second where the Ships lie perfectly safe; and their distance from the City about seven miles and a half—The tides are regular: and rises and falls considerable: and the shore lying on a very gentle slope, is left dry for a great distance at low water.

The City is chiefly supplied with provisions from the Coasts of Peru, and the neighbouring Coasts by Shiping, and therefore if the City is besieged by a Land army sent up the River Chagre, and across the Isthmus, and well guarded on the Sea side by a superior Navy, it must soon surrender for want of necessaries.—

The City of *Panama* is not only the Capital of the Province of that name, but of all the Kingdoms of Terra Ferma, Darien, and Varagua, and is the seat of Government; being in the very center of all commerce carried on between the new world and the old. And consequently the taking this City, and important Passage will at once derange all the Commerce, and shake the very foundation of the Spanish Government on all this vast Contianant.—I am my Lord your Lordships

Most Obed^t Hum.^{le} Serv^t

JAMES CREASSY.

Buxwood Cops near
Crawley Sussex
Nov. 6th 1804

II

My Lord

I have now the Honour to send your Lordship further particulars respecting the grand Plan, recommended to be carried into execution in South America.

Agents should be sent to North America to provide everything necessary for all ships that may touch there for refreshment, in order to dispatch them with all possible expedition.—The fame of the riches to be acquired on the Coasts of South America, will no doubt induce several of the American Sailors, to enter on board our ships particularly the privateers; nor will any Laws the Congress may make be able to prevent them.—

I also recommend dispatches and letters of mart to be sent out to the East Indies, to spread the flame of Privateering at Bombay, Madras and Bengal. Three stout ships may with ease be fited out from Bombay, and one or two from Madras to cruise between Minilla and China, to intercept the wealth and rich goods passing and repassing between those two places.—Four stout ships may with ease be fited out

from Bengal to sail to the Island of Tinian and to proceed from thence in the Tract of the Galeons, and renderouse at Panama, to assist in taking that City. As the Crews may want refreshment after so long a voyage before they engage in any enterprize at Panama; they may touch at the Island of *Quibo*, which abounds with Turtle of an excellent quality, and there is plenty of wood and good water.—

Sea men of different nations may be easily collected in the East Indies, to assist in maning these Ships; as well as some Land men; and as many lascars as can be desired.—

I recommend all the privateers as well as the Men of War before mentioned, to have Boats constructed with Beams *to put in and take out* at pleasure; that they may stow one within another to enable each ship to carry out more than usual: in order that more men may be landed and reembarked in the most expeditious manner: This will be of the greatest service in surprizing and taking Towns along the Coast: In carrying on board treasure and other valuable articles, before the enemy's armies can be drawn from a distance, The Boarding and cutting ships out of Harbours, procuring fresh provisions, etc., etc.,

Every ship should carry out nets, and all kinds of implements for fishing, which will be of infinite use in preserving the health and vigour of their respective Crews.—

If proper steps are taken, subscriptions may be raised in every County, City, and considerable Town in these Kingdoms; as well as in the East and West Indies, and other parts; for fitting out such private ships of War, as will at once give us a desidered superior Naval force in all the great South Seas while his Majestys Navy is watching the motions of our enemies in other parts.

I am not acquainted with the prosperity or strength of Botony Bay, but should think that settlement might fit out two Ships to Sail, first for the Island of *de Juan Fernando*, and thence to cruise all along the Coasts of *Chili* *Peru* and *Tera Firma*, and join all the others at *Panama*.—

Having once gained the grand object of a safe passage across the Isthmus of Panama, and a superior navy in those Seas; Troops and Seamen, and adventurers from all parts and Nations, may be marched across there, with all kinds of stores, and necessaries for recruiting the Privateers, maning the Prizes, besieging Towns, taking their ships, and destroying their Commerce. The keys of all the Spanish Treasure will then be in our possession. Their Galeons can not escape being taken; their Towns on the Sea Coast may be plundered laid under contrabution or burnt, and the Coasting trad cut off if not totally

destroyed: While immense wealth will be daily falling into the hands of our Cruisers.—

While those Transactions are carrying on abroad, our Navy at home will no doubt keep a good watch on all the preparations making in the Spanish Ports, and if any fleets should venture to put to sea will soon give a good account of them.—

All the ships sent on this enterprize should carry a number of spare lower masts, and as many Top masts yards and spars as possible, and several spare anchors and Cables, with plenty of Cordage and Sail cloth.—

After the reduction of Panama, which can not hold out long, without a superior navy to protect and victual it, I recommend all the stoutest and best prizes which may be taken from the enemy, to be fitted out in a war like manner, and all possible encouragement given for manning them: as these ships may be made of the greatest use in surprizing their seaport Towns, and besieging their Cities: while it will be out of the power of the Spanish Government at home, to send them any relief to that remote quarter of the Globe, while our brave Tars are watching all their motions.—

During the long interval of peace in Mexico, Peru, and Chili, the Spaniards have indulged themselves in Luxury and ease: and have suffered their Fortifications to fall into ruin: The carriages of their Cannon in general rotten, their guns dismounted or rendered useless: Their magaziens scantily supplied: Their troops and garrisons, from the conivance of the Vice roy, and great men badly paid, dispirited, and enervated with the rigour of the climate; and mouldering away. So that if such a force as I propose should be sent into the South Seas, with *secret* and proper instructions, and orders where to rendevouse, and how to act, they will soon become masters of all the Spanish Coasts, Commerce and Wealth in those Seas; and render their Country immortal service; at the same time they are enriching themselves and families.—

The general outlines of this grand plan being thus far laid down, it will not be improper to enter a little more minutely into the methods I recommend for carrying the scheme more effectually into execution. But it is once more necessary to declare that secrecy is the most difficult part of the business, till the grand blow is struck, and the River Chagre and narrow Passes, and Commanding heights, across the Isthmus are secured: for it is no matter how public the Privateering part of the business is made; provided the stations on which the ships are to be sent are carefully concealed, so that neither the Captains,

officers, nor any one shall know whence they are bound to; till they break open their instructions in a certain Latitud: nor should, the first instructions go further than to direct them to proceed into another Latitude, and there to break open their final instructions. All this may be managed by a Committee of Noblemen and Gentlemen to be appointed for that purpose, without suffering this business ever to come into the Public offices; where every avenue is beset with the spies and emisaries of our enemies.

As soon as the privateers arive at the general rendevouse at Panama, they are all to be under the command of a Commodore, to be appointed for that purpose, and in case of any accident happening to him the next in succession to be the Commander in chief, till the City of Panama surrenders.—

I propose that every ship shall be provided with large sheets, or awnings, to reach from head to stern, to keep off the heat of the Sun: and particularly to catch fresh water in rainy weather, to fill the casks as fast as they become empty.—This may easily be done by placing a Cannon shot in the middle of each sheet, and making a small hole for the water to run through, and this will be found of infinite use in such long voyages.—

It is not my intention to point out all the minute articles the Ships ought to take out with them, I shall quit that subject and in my next point out, the most proper Ports for fiting out these Ships: and if a general subscription is opened, the probable number which may be fitted out at each place: but in the mean time I crave the honour to be my Lord, your Lordships

Most Obed^t Hum^{le} Serv^t

JAMES CREASSY.

Buxwood Cops near
Crawley Sussex
Nov. 8th 1804

T N B. That great and useful Gentleman Sir Joseph Banks is better acquainted with the Spanish possessions, and all the South Seas, than any man now living and is the most proper person to be appointed Chairman of the Committee above mentioned—

III

My Lord

In my last letter I informed your Lordship I would mention some of the most proper Ports for fiting out the Ships for the enterprize

against the Spanish Settlements in South America; and if Ministers use their best endeavours to encourage a general subscription, the probable number of private Ships of War, which will soon be ready to sail will be nearly as follows.—

I conclude that it will be easy for to collect subscriptions in London, the Borough and County of Middlesex for fitting out eight stout Ships to sail with all possible dispatch from the Metropolous.....	8
Chatham and the County of Kent.....	1
Newhaven Lewis and the County of Sussex.....	1
Portsmouth and Hampshire	2
Weymouth and Dorsetshire	1
Plymouth and Devonshire	2
Falmouth and Cornwall	1
Sumerset County	1
Bristol Gloucestershire and Wiltshire together.....	3
	20

Brought Over	20
South Wales	2
North Wales	2
Chester and the County of Chester.....	1
Liverpool and Lancashire.....	4
Westmoreland and Cumberland together.....	2
Northumberland	2
Sunderland and Durham	2
Hull and Yorkshire	3
Boston and Lincolnshire	1
Lynn and Norfolk	1
Suffolk	1
Harwich and Essex	1
All Scotland	3
All Ireland	3
Canada and Novoscotia	2
All the West Indies	4
All the East Indies	9
	63

Thus may a Naval force be suddenly raised to spread themselves along all the Coasts of South America, where the Spaniards have any wealth or carry on any Commerce, and cause a general alarm through all that vast Continent, to divide their forces and divirt their atten-

tion, while the men of war and land army proposed to be sent to secure the Navigation of the River Chagre and Commanding heights on the Isthmus accomplish that object.—

The fitting out these private ships of war, will neither draw many seamen from our Navy, nor weaken our land armies; on the contrary the plan will ultimately tend to add great strength to both. Nor will it augment our Public Taxes: The wealth to be collected from our enemies will amply repay all adventurers, while it will fill the Nation with circulating Cash, and throw fresh life and vigour into every branch of our manufacturies and Commerce: While it will stagnate and retard all the opporations of the Spaniards, and relax the Sinues of war in France.—

It has long been evident to every serious thinking man, that nothing can save this sinking Empire, but some bold enterprize, founded on some well formed Plan, to distress our Enemies, and enrich ourselves: It is as evident that no scheme of this sort can succeed if it is handed about in Public offices *for opinions* on it, haunted as they are by the Emisaries of our Enemies, and the spies employed by East Indian Traitors. It must be the Nobles and men of honour, and the first rate abilities, who will meet, *privately*, and deside by their own Judg-
ment, to prevent the intrigues of our enemies from counteracting all the best formed Plans and turn them to their own advantage.

It is true we have no old Lord Chatham, to promptly diside on such Projects: But we have a Sir Joseph Banks, who knows more of—South America than any other man living: We have a Lord Pelham a Lord Sheffield and many other Noblemen of abilities; to meet and make all Improvements to this or any other Plans for enterprizes on that vast Continant. We have a General Loftus, a Clinton; and a Sir Thomas Hide Page; the most eminent Military Engineer in the King-
dom, for ministers to consult on the subject; we have Admirals of the most eminent abilities, and such are the proper persons for his Majestys ministers to order to meet and consult on so important a business.—

As soon as the Passage across the Isthmus is secured, and the City of Panama is taken, I recommend all the Treasure taken in the South Seas to be conveyed across there, and sent to England in men of war provided for that purpose for the more perfect security of those who are to share the same. Then to publish, and give every possible encouragement to new adventurers, to repair to the mouth of the River Chagre, and pass over the Isthmus to recruit the Privateers to man the Prizes and form a strong body of Land forces, and Government

to take care to provide Vessels in different parts to convey all the recruits over.—

I also recommend fresh Subscriptions to be set on foot, to fit out other Ships to Relieve those above mentioned, and that all the Ships so relieved in the South Seas; shall have full liberty to return by way of China or any part of the East Indies, and there load with East India Goods, and shall be empowered to land the same in the several Ports from whence the respective ships were fitted out; *free of all Duties, and Imposts whatsoever*, and have lieve to sell their Cargoes or Reexport them to any other County: and all the Profits thereby, to be divided between the Origional subscribers, and the Captains, Officers and Crewes belonging to each Ship.—

When we have proceeded so far in this Plan and got our Fleet and army in the South Seas well refreshed and recruited, and all the Prizes maned ready for new enterprizes: A Proclamation should be industriously circulated, through out all the Spanish Dominions, Printed in the Spanish language. Offering freedom of *Trade Independence, and Protection*, to all that are willing to shake off the Spanish yoke, and avoid the Calamities of War; as well as protection and pay to all the Native Indians, who will join the British standard, and assist in reducing such Cities and Towns as may refuse to be Independent and shall hold out for the King of Spain.—

The Passage accross the Isthmus thus secured will comepletely cut the Spanish Dominions in two. The Settlements which lie on the North side of it cannot assist those that lie on the South: Nor those on the South assist the other on the North.—The whole Empire will be as it were disjointed, and as the Treasure, merchandize and Commerce, carried on between the South Seas and *Porto Bello, Carthagena, the Spanish West Indies and old Spain*; will be cut off, and totally stopt. That great source of Spanish power, can no longer flow into Europe. Their fleets and armies in old Spain will be with greate difficulty fited out for foreign service, their returns of that Treasure which alone can enable them to carry on war, will not only fail; but be turned as bitter weapons against them: And the alarm and confusion it will occasion among our enemies, may be better conceived than discribed: Nor will it be possible for Spain to afford any permanent relief to their American Subjects, while our Navy are watching all their motions at home.—

All the time these transactions are carrying on, all the Negroes which can be collected in that western world, should be kept employed, under proper Surveyors and Engineers in fortifying the most important angles of the River Chagre, and the commanding Heights, on the

Isthmus, and in improving the Navigation of that River, and making a good military road over the Mountains, as before mentioned.—

When the above passage is once secured: No Peace ought to be made with Spain, without its being finally resigned up to great Britain, together with all the Isthmus from the Eastermost side of the Gulph of *Darien*, to the Westermost point of a small Lake called *Leon*: Including all the Islands within twenty Leagues of the Coasts, both on the North and South sides thereof.—

THIS SPOT in the hands of his Britanick majesty, will soon become the Emporiom of Commerce: Here will be a new vent for immense quantities of our manufactures of various kinds: Here we shall draw the ready Cash for our goods, and disperse them through all the extensive Coasts of South America, and a very considerable part of the Northern regions. This spot properly speaking, joins North and South America together and tho' it is on the north side the Equator, yet it is generally reckoned to be part of the Southern Continent.—

The Scotch a keen sensible People, took possession of part of this Isthmus in 1699, and attempted to plant a Colony there; which would not only have been the most useful, but the most important that ever was projected in among us even at that early period, and bribery, deep intrigue, and every species of villainy was carried on to destroy this well Planed, but illfated undertaking, and to complete the ruin of Mr. Patterson the origional projector.

For a more full and correct account of the wicked transactions carried on by our enemies in conjenetion with British subjects, to distroy that Colony I refer your Lordship to Sir John Dalrymple's second Vol. of memories of Great Britain and Ireland.—

After the fate of this great man, and the more recent fate of the late Col Hen. Watson, and others for their wonderful abilities Plans and exertions to secure our East India possessions for ages, I cannot be ignorant of the danger I run in bringing forward this great National Plan, which if carried into execution with spirit and judgment, cannot fail to raise our sinking nation to a higher pitch of Glory than it has ever yet arived at.—

W: Winterbotham in his fourth Vol. and 129 P. of his History of America speaking of Paterson and his Colony, says he survived many years in Scotland pitied, respected, but neglected. After the union of the two kingdoms, he claimed reparation of his losses, from the equivalent-money given by England to the Darien Company, but got nothing, because a grant to him from a public fund would have been only an act of humanity, not a political job.—And this Historian further adds, that England by the imprudence of ruining that settlement, lost

the opportunity of gaining and continuing to herself the greatest Commercial Empire that probably ever will be upon earth. I am my Lord your Lordships,

Most Obed^t Hum^{le} Serv^t

JAMES CREASSY.

Buxwood Cops near
Crawley Sussex
Nov^r 11th. 1804

N B. This very Paterson tho' an obscure Scotchman was the principal person who projected the Plan for the Bank of England. But the persons to whom he communicated the same, made use of it as their own, behaved civil to him for a wile and then shook him off, as too commonly happens to such projectors.—

IV

My Lord

As France and Spain which must be reckoned as one and the same Enemy, by their deep intrigues brought about the dismemberment of this once great and flourishing Empire; and are at this moment stirring up the United States of America, whom they have made free and Independent, to extort from us all the best parts of our Western Dominions in that quarter of the Globe. It is but fair, to play our Enemies the same Game in South America: and render all the Spanish Provinces on that vast Continent *free and Independent States*.

Secure but a safe passage up the River Chagre and across the Isthmus of Panama, and get a superior Naval force in the South Seas, and all the rest may be accomplished with ease.—

The wretched narrow policy of Spain, in suffering avaritious Governors and men in high offices, to dictate laws, and dispense with them at pleasure, and create all sorts of monopolies to fill their own coffers, will mightily assist and hasten a Revolution in all the Spanish Colonies. And the United States of America which Spain assisted in making free: furnishes a striking example them to follow.—And while the Spanish Colonies are prohibited from all trade with other Nations: The native Indians are all groaning under the dreadful yoke of oppression, and the multitudes of Negroe Slaves dispersed in every Colony and district. In a Country circumstanced and so far removed from their mother Country, there can be no great difficulty in bringing about a general revolution, and playing Spain the same game she assisted in playing us.—In order to make more sure of this business I recommend Government to immediately send out officers and agents to

upper Canada to Raise a considerable army of Canadians, Indians, and other adventurers; and send them down the Mississippi, and from thence by the most eligible rout to fall on the back settlements of Mexico, while the fleets and armies in the South Seas recruited and refreshed as mentioned in my last letter, are protecting all that declare for Independence and reducing all such Cities and Towns on the Sea coast and destroying the Commerce of all Places that refuse to take an Oath to shake off the Spanish Yoke, and become *FREE* and *INDEPENDENT STATES* and shall more over agree to raise such reasonable sums for the support of the British fleets and armies, as his Majestys ministers from time to time may think just and equitable.—

While these transactions are carrying on in the South Seas and the interior parts of Mexico: All possible encouragement should be given to increase the number of Privateers and adventurers to take their Cities, Towns and Ships in the River Plata, Amazones, and all other places along the Coasts of the Atlantic Ocean: which may hold out for the King of Spain, or hoist his Colours: and all the men of war that can be spared from watching our Enemies motions at home, and protecting our other dominions should be sent to assist in those enterprizes.—

I also recommend Government to send two small armed Ships with plenty of small arms and ammunition to Arm those brave warlike Indians, whom the Spaniards could never Conquer and who border on the Southern boundaries of Chili, and Paragua, with some Serjeants and Officers, to teach them the use of those arms; and to raise an army of those warlike people to fall on the back parts of the Southern Provinces in case they should hold out for the King of Spain: This will favour the opporations proposed to be carried on along the Coasts.—

All the Provinces, Cities, Towns, and Places which will come forward and take the Oaths for establishing Freedom and Independence, and will contribute in a just and reasonable way towards the support of our Fleets and armies to be Protected and considered as friends and allies and all such as hold out for the King of Spain to be treated as enemies and their Cities and Towns to be given up to Plunder.—

Plenty of Cannon should be sent out for constructing Floating Batteries, on the *Principal Rivers and Lakes*, as well as for Fortifying the most Important and Commanding posts, as they may fall into our hands.—

As there are plenty of Horses and Mules in South America: a quantity of Saddles, Bridles and Horse fornytre should be sent out to

be ready as soon as horsemen can be collected to act against the enemy. —

The Declaration of Independence and freedom of Trade, will in all probability not prove agreeable to all the Spaniard settled in that vast Continent. But if it only divides them in their political opinions so far as that one party will join the British forces, the other will soon be driven out of the Country in the same manner as the Loyalists were driven from North America. But if any doubts should remain of our final success we have at last nothing to do but to offer Freedom to all Slaves who will join our armies, and the business will soon be finished: and those hardy sooty sons of Africa, will then become the best labourers that can be got in those hot climates.—

When the passage accross the Isthmus is once secured Carthagena and Porto Bello will fall of cours without loseing a single man before these unhealthy places, for the longer the Spaniards keep these forts, the more of their best Troops will fall victoms to the rigour of the Climate: Nor will the Havanah then prove of any great use to our enemies.

Half way between Carthagena and Porto Bello, and near 150 miles from each, there is a natural Harbour capable of receiving the largest fleets; at a place called Acta, in the mouth of the River Darien, which is defended from stormes by Islands: and there is a promontory which commands the enterance: But it requires care in Sailing into this Harbour as there is a hidden rock in the passage. This being near the mountains, is a more healthy and temperate climate, than either of the other Ports, and it is proper to explore this Harbour well in case it should hereafter be found expedient for men of war to take shelter, or refit there.—There is also plenty of Turtle and manatee or sea cow in these Seas, particularly about the Sambaloe Islands. And on the opposite side the Isthmus in the South Sea, there are Natural Harbours eaqually capacious and secure.—

I also recommend all the Prizes of light draught of Water which may be taken along the Coasts in the Atlantic Ocean, to be fited out as armed Ships and to Build in Nova Scotia or Canada a number of Flat Bottomed Vessels, to convey Troops arms and ammunition sufficient to take Buenos Ayres, and other places bordering on the *River la Plata*, in case the same shall hold out for the King of Spain: Such Vessels being necessary for that service on account of the Sands and Sholes in that River.—

It may be proper to send messengers just before to the Jesuits, offering them protection, and Independence, on their favouring the invasion, and taking the Oaths above mentioned.—This may easily be

done by employing some Portugues in the Brazels who carry a counter-band Trade with them.—

It may be said that private Ships of War will not act in conjunction with each other: but as it is proposed that all these Ships shall be fitted out by encouraging general subscriptions throughout all the British Dominions; so I propose they shall be put intirely under the Direction of a Secret Committee of Noblemen and Gentlemen of the first abilities, the Nation produces, who shall be appointed *Trustees* for all the Subscribers, Commanders and Adventurers; and shall order them to act seperately or together as they may think proper.—

But my Lord, while a spirit of enterprize is thus rousing up, which is necessary to the salvation of the British Empire: His Majesty's Ministers should take care to secure the East Indies, and Ireland: which have both long been preparing for the resception of our enemies.—I shall say but little of Ireland, because your Lordship must be better acquainted with the Treachery carried on by our enemies in that Country than I am. But in the East Indies I have been witness to the most open scenes of Treason. A conspiracy of British Subjects destroying all the Docks, Mills, Store houses, Grainaries, and the Grand Depot of Naval Stores at Bengal, to give our enemies an opportunity of raising a superior Naval force in the Eastern Seas. I have been witness to scenes of barbarity which shocks the human mind and even staggers belief, and the criminals by the arts of our enemies kept beyond the reach of public justice. And I have reason to believe that avarice and ambition has lately been overturning kingdoms where innocence is attacked, and happiness finds no asylum: Where the footsteps of our invading armies, may be traced by misery cruelty and depopulation.—Justice and mercy is totally disregarded, by inhuman plunderers, The whole Continenant of India, immense as it is, is far too little to satisfy the avarice of a few adventurers from Leadenhale street: who have long been suffered to blast the character of Britons in order to bring about a general revolt of millions of Natives, to fall on the rear of our dispersed and straggling armies, or rather bands of Plunderers; who have by the advice of a few Individuals and the deep intrigues of our enemies, quited all the strong holds on the Sea coasts, and spread themselves over many extensive kingdoms, from whence those few straggling Europeans, will have to make a disgraceful retreat, for thousands of miles, with millions of injured natives harrising their rear, as soon as the French, who have long been preparing at the Island of Mauritius, shall invade any part of the Sea Coast. But my Lord I will quit those East India Criminals, who have so long assisted our enemies in bringing about the ruin we are involved

in, and breefly tell your Lordship that if we wish to secure our Trade, and Possessions in India: The Docks and grand Depot for Naval Stores must be speedialy finished: and a Superior Navy to command all the Eastren Seas be kept there. Our Troop must be drawn within the bounds of prudence: and the Straits of Babblemandel taken possession of and well Fortified to prevent our enemies from sending their armies through Egypt, and down the Red Sea to over run India. I crave the Honour to be my Lord Your Lordships

Most Obed^t Hum^{le} Serv^t

JAMES CREASSY.

Buxwood Cops near
Crawley Sussex
Dec 6, 1804

N B It is far from my intention to cast reflections on all the British Subjects, who have been or are in India, a great majority of them are men of integrity. It is a few great overgrown Criminals who with the assistance of our enemies have brought about all the ruin we are involved in.—

V

My Lord

Having in my former Letters given your Lordship the general principles of the grand Plan for cuting our enemies sinues of War: and once more raising the power of this sinking Empire.—I shall now proceed to state to your Lordship some of the neumerous advantages which will not only result to Great Britain, but to all the Powers in Europe; and even to the whole civilized world, except our enemies, by carrying this Plan into Execution with spirit and Judgement.—

That vast torrent of wealth which has long enabled our enemies to delluge all Europe with Blood, will be divided into thousands, and tens of thousands of Channels: as soon as Independence and freedom of Trade is established throughout the Contintant of South America. The power of France will gradually sink when Spain can no longer support her with money: Without money she can no longer overturn kingdoms and Empires: She can neither *Bribe East India Traitors*, or corrupt foreign Courts: While all other Trading nations are daily gaining strength and riches by new branches of industry and Commerce, France and Spain will be sinking in both, as soon as that wealth which sets all the engines of power at work, is not only cut off, but turned as better weapons against them. Without the Spanish mines they can neither pay numerous armies, fit out large Fleets, or restore their Trade and manufactures.

Holland will soon see her Interest in opening a free Trade with South America, and as soon as she can get out of the claws of France, will no doubt shelter herself under the wings of her old ally.

The United States of America, who are now the secret friends of France, will be greatly benefited by opening a free trade with all the Spanish Colonies, and as they are a quick sighted people intirely devoted to their own interest, they will no doubt soon become secretly our friends, in promoting this Revolution.—

While Great Britain is thus opening a lucrative Trade for all the Commercial world, I mean she shall secure to herself, her full share of it. I propose that all the time these transactions are carrying on in the New World, that the most skillful Engineers shall be employed to Fortify, and render Impregnable, the Passage accross the Isthmus, as well as the most important angles to command the Navigation of the River Chagre. That Negroes and Machanics be collected from all parts for that purpose. That Peace shall never be made with Spain till that Passage is secured to Great Britain for ever, together with all the Isthmus of Darien, agreeable to the Bounds mentioned in a former letter.—

That South America shall contribute a just and reasonable sum annually to be faithfully applied towards supporting, and rendering more convenient these important works; for which I propose that Great Britain shall become—Garantee for the Freedom and Independence of the Spanish Colonies.—

That a reasonable Duty be laid on all Goods, conveyed along this passage, for the purpose of making a Navigable Canal from the River Chagre to the City of Panama. This scheme may appear *Chimerical* to some persons, as there are Mountains in the way, But as the whole distance between the Navigation of the River Chagre and the South Sea is not more than fourteen miles: if we make every possible allowance, and suppose ten miles out of the fourteen to want Tunnelling, it can not require more than five years to complete that useful work, especially as miners in abundance may be collected in that Country.— If this *subterraneous* Canal is cut a little deeper than the River Chagre, it may be carried through the Mountains on a dead Level and probably very near if not quite to the City of Panama without a Lock. And as there is a bundance of water in the River Chagre, to supply this Canal as well as any Locks or other works that may be constructed on the River itself: all the supposed difficulties will vanish at once.—

This important Passage being once finally secured to Great Britain, and Rendered convenient to Commerce, will prove more beneficial to

her than a thousand Gibralters. It will open a way for her to circulate her neumourous manufactories, throughout all the Coasts and Inhabited Islands in the South Seas; without a probability, of either the United States of America, or any Power in Europe under selling her. Here are millions of all ranks and discriptions to supply with European goods. The very Savages inhabiting the cold Climates to the north and South, will soon learn to exchange their Skins and furs for our course woollens and hardware, while the Spaniards and all other Casts and Colours, resideing in warmer Climates will be continually clearing our storehouses of muslins, cottons, and light goods, and what will still prove more useful to the trading part of the Nation, a ready sale will be opened for goods which have become unfashionable in Europe.—From the former we shall draw Raw Materials for to employ our industrious artists to work up: from the latter we shall Receive the Ready money to throw fresh life and vigour into every branch of our Trade and Commerce.—

This passage made convenient as above, will open to us quite new Channels of Trade, of such extent and importance as can not be estimated. All the Cities, Towns, and Ports, bordring on the Atlantic Ocean in South America, together with the West India Islands, and a great part of North America, may be supplied with Tea and other East India Goods through this Passage cheaper and with more facility and less risk, than by any other nation or Channel whatsoever. And even our East India Company (as long as that nucence to Trade is suffered to exist) might both Import and Export their Goods, quicker, safer and cheaper, than it is possible for them to do through any other: As the Trade wings will carry their Ships directly to the River Chagre, and the same winds will carry Ships from the Bay of Panama to India, and the Ships returning by running into the Latitude of 40 North the Westerly winds that prevale there, will bring them back to the Coast of North America, where they will fall in with the Land winds blowing from the North, which will carry them into the Bay of Panama.—

Besides these and many other important advantages which the Limits of this Letter will not allow me to state to your Lordship: Many new discoveries will be made which the Indolence and Luxury of the Spaniards have overlooked: New collonies will spring up on the West side of North America: Islands in the South Seas, will undoubtedly become peopled with Europeans; all which will create fresh employ for our Industrious manufacturers, and our Sea men and Shipping will increase in proportion to the increased demands of the Western World.—

This plan well conducted will soon change the affairs, not only of the British Empire, but of all Europe; for as Britons become richer and more powerful: France and Spain will become poorer and weaker, and the lesser Princes in Europe, who are now enslaved by the over-grown Power of France, will soon be able to boldly assert their Independence, and the Dutch, Dains, Swedes, and Russians will all in some measure be benefited by throwing open the Trade in all the Spanish Colonies: In short it will be a general benefit to the whole Civilized world, except to France and Spain, which we must reckon as one and the same enemy.—

I shall now my Lord just touch upon tender Ground, the disaffection that has long subsisted in Ireland. I will say nothing on the Cause of that unhappy business: But briefly observe that if proper encouragement is held out to the disaffected; numbers of them may be engaged by one means or other to assist in this great enterprize, and defeat all our enemies hopes in that quarter.—How much more pleasing will it be to every good mind to see those men usefully employed against a Common enemy, than to see them fall as rebels in the field of Battle; or hanged Drawn and quartered for becoming Traitors.—

I have now my Lord opened a field for enterprize, wide enough for every good subject to exercise his wisdom, strength and abilities in, but it must depend on men of higher ranks to set the proper wheels in motion to insure success.—

The expence of this Plan will be very moderate to Government, compared to former Expeditions, if the Spirit of Privateering is properly roused up; and the wealth that will be collected and sent home by various Channels will be immence; and the Increase of Trade, Commerce and Revenue can alone enable this sinking Empire to hold up against the enormous load of Taxes which hath been heaped upon us.—Besides all these and many other great National advantages, it is much better to carry the seat of war into the Enemies Country, than to suffer the whole Spanish power to be united with France, to Invade these Kingdoms.—

This Plan my Lord will at once divide their fleets and armies: for Spain must make an effort to save her foreign Dominions, where they will have to Transport their forces across immens seas, with our brave Tars at their heels.—

I have avoided mentioning the different Rendevouses for the Ships, Sir Joseph Banks is better able to fix these points than I am, and if that great and useful Gentleman is appointed Chairman of the Committee, before mentioned, I have no doubt but all matters will go well.—

I conceive I have now discharged the duty of a good Subject, by communicating to a Nobleman of your Lordships distinguished abilities, a Plan which has long been digested and approved of by a Gentleman who felt a sacrifice to his Loyalty; and whose abilities were second to none.

I am My Lord Your Lordships

Most Obed^t Hum^{le} Serv^t

JAMES CREASSY.

Buxwood Cops near
Crawley Sussex
Dec 16: 1804

I am sory I have no better Paper without a Journy of six miles and bad roads.—

BOOK REVIEWS

Latin America, A Descriptive Survey. By WILLIAM LYTHE SCHURZ.
(New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc. Pp. 378. \$3.75.)

At a time when we are overwhelmed by a flood of journalistic books on "our southern neighbors," written by authors whose first-hand knowledge has been acquired during a hurried airplane trip and who rely for details on a rather indiscriminate use of the works of other more or less informed "authorities," the publication of a serious description of Latin America by a man who knows his subject from long study and wide personal experience is something of an event. Mr. Schurz unfortunately may not reach so wide a public as some of his competitors. His book is too crammed with facts and too serious in its approach for the general reader who wants to learn something pleasantly and painlessly, but it is a book which should be carefully studied and digested by students who are approaching the subject with a desire for a real understanding. It contains a wealth of accurate, painstakingly gathered information, presented without bias and without any attempt to achieve color through over-emphasis or exaggeration. A few minor mistakes, particularly in the historical sections, do not materially detract from its value.

After a detailed geographic description, an historical sketch, and a somewhat longer chapter on the make-up of the population, the bulk of the book is devoted to government, economic questions, international relations, and "The Way of Life." Each of these sections reflects the author's unusually wide knowledge of actual conditions in Latin America. Constitutional and legal provisions are discussed in some detail, perhaps in too much detail, but there is also a description of the way that these provisions really work. Many readers will wish that this latter aspect of the subject could have been treated more fully, but limitations of space perhaps made this impracticable. The section on "The Economy," covering production and trade, industries, mining, agriculture, and transportation, is the longest in the book and the one in which Mr. Schurz speaks with the greatest authority. International relations are competently handled. There is a good discussion of the most recent phases of relations between Latin America and the United States, and the pages describing the cultural relations program will be valuable to students who wish a brief, straightforward account of recent developments.

Portions of the final section, on "The Way of Life," might well be assigned as required reading to every student in college courses on Latin America. The difference between the Latin-American and North American background and the outstanding personal characteristics of the Latin American are discussed sympathetically and convincingly. If every businessman and cruise passenger who travelled South would read and take to heart the pages on these subjects, much would be accomplished toward increasing Latin-American liking and respect for the United States. Social organization and labor problems are also dealt with, though all too briefly, and there is a slightly more extended treatment of education and religion and a brief discussion of Latin-American literature.

To cover so many phases of the life of twenty different countries in 365 pages is an almost insuperable task, particularly where so much factual material is presented. It is particularly difficult to deal with the subject matter by topics, as Mr. Schurz does, and at the same time to give the reader a picture of the great differences, in government, in social structure, and in culture, between individual countries. Mr. Schurz avoids the two broad and consequently misleading generalizations to which many less informed authors resort, but his effort to be accurate often involves him in a mass of detail which may well be confusing to the reader who knows little of Latin America to start with. Argentina, Brazil, and Peru hardly emerge from his pages as separate nations, each with its own peculiar social and political problems, unless one makes a special effort to remember what is said about each country from chapter to chapter. This, however, is a problem which confronts anyone who attempts to write about Latin America as a whole.

There is no extended bibliography, but a few of the most important books on each phase of Latin-American life are cited in footnotes in each chapter. These are one of the book's most valuable features. They not only attest the soundness of the research which has gone into its preparation, but give the non-professional reader a helpful guide to much of the best literature in English on Latin-American problems.

DANA GARDNER MUNRO.

Princeton University.

Hands Off: A History of the Monroe Doctrine. By DEXTER PERKINS. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1941. Pp. x, 455. \$3.50.)

This is unquestionably one of the most important books on American foreign policy which have appeared in recent years. At the present time especially, the publication of a scholarly and readable

study which gives a clear picture of the historical background and present significance of the most important factor in our relations with the other countries of this hemisphere is a real public service. The book is more than a condensation of the more extensive works which have made Professor Perkins the recognized authority on his subject. It is a brilliant, fresh treatment of the Monroe Doctrine from the beginning down to the present day. The underlying theme is not so much the development of the Doctrine itself as its evolution from a simple declaration of policy designed to meet an immediate emergency into one of the permanent bases of American foreign policy. Professor Perkins shows that the significance of the Doctrine was little appreciated even in the United States in the first generation after its enunciation. It was not consistently adhered to by the American government, and it had relatively little effect on the policy of other powers. In Europe, in fact, it was greeted with disapproval and almost with contempt. As time went on it became more and more a part of the political creed of the American people and the growing power of the United States steadily increased its importance as a factor in world politics.

The history of the Monroe Doctrine is closely intertwined with the whole story of our relations with the other American republics, and any author writing on the Doctrine will necessarily find it difficult to decide which parts of the story to tell. Many readers will wish that Professor Perkins could have given a more detailed treatment of the events of the past quarter century. American intervention in the Caribbean is dealt with in some detail down to 1916, but subsequent events in that region are passed over hastily and somewhat superficially. A fuller discussion would have made clearer the gradual change in American policy which was taking place between 1920 and 1930—a change which led up to what Professor Perkins describes as the repudiation of the Roosevelt corollary. It was not only the apparently diminishing danger of European aggression and the hostility of Latin America, but a growing realization of the futility of attempting to help other countries by intervening in their affairs which caused the policy of intervention to be abandoned. The experience from which this realization developed is an important part of the story.

Professor Perkins very properly emphasizes the importance of Mr. Reuben Clark's Memorandum on the Monroe Doctrine which was published in 1930. It is difficult, however, to agree with his statement that since the publication of the memorandum "there has been no

scholarly foundation for the proposition that the Monroe Doctrine as officially interpreted either makes necessary or even tolerates interventions in the affairs of the other states of the New World." This is perhaps a fair conclusion to draw from the Clark Memorandum and the instruction which transmitted it to American missions abroad, but was there actually any such fundamental change in American policy? Certainly some at least of the officers working on Latin-American problems in the State Department in 1930 failed to realize that the publication of the memorandum could have such a sweeping result. Would the Monroe Doctrine not be involved, for example, if the United States should intervene diplomatically, or by economic pressure, or otherwise, to thwart the success of a Caribbean revolution obviously instigated and supported by German or Italian interests? It may be argued that the right to resist any such attempt to extend a European German system to this hemisphere, any such interposition for the purpose of controlling the destiny of an American country, rests rather on the right of self-defense than on the Monroe Doctrine. It is difficult however to see the difference between the proposition that considerations of self-defense required the United States to oppose European aggression in the Caribbean and the proposition that considerations of self-defense required the United States to maintain the Monroe Doctrine in that region. It would be unfortunate if efforts to make the Monroe Doctrine pure in the eyes of our Latin-American neighbors should result in its being made innocuous. What is important is to make it clear that the Doctrine will not be used as a cloak for imperialistic ambitions, and that its maintenance is just as important to the other American nations as to the United States.

In the last chapter, "Retrospect and Prospect," there is a level-headed, well-informed discussion of the present situation in Latin America. The author treats rather briefly the events of the past two years, which seem likely to have so important an effect on the Doctrine's evolution, and barely touches upon the problem of the economic defense of the Americas, but this is to be expected in a book which is a history and not a treatise on international relations. Though for this same reason Professor Perkins wisely refrains from prophesy, he makes clear his conviction that the Monroe Doctrine will continue to be a fundamental principle of the foreign policy of the United States.

DANA G. MUNRO.

Princeton University.

Discursos y escritos. By LUIS M. DRAGO. (Buenos Aires: Editorial El Ateneo, 1938. 3 vols. Pp. 430, 438, 272.)

Few Latin-American public men play a more significant rôle in the history of diplomacy than Luis Drago. Drago was born in 1859. He began his active career while still a youth on that great newspaper, *La Nación*, at the age of only sixteen. Contemporaneously he pursued his studies, and received the degree of doctor in jurisprudence in 1882. In the same year he was elected to the legislature of Buenos Aires. After only a year in this post he became Secretary of the Chamber of Appeals on one of the courts of the Province, and made his way upward in the public service, serving as attorney-general of La Plata. He went back temporarily into private life in 1893, but in 1902 he was elected to the National Congress, and in August assumed the post of minister of foreign affairs, which he held for less than a year. In 1906 he returned to Congress, and in 1907 he was one of the Argentine delegates to the second Hague conference. In 1909 he was appointed as one of the arbiters in the fisheries controversy between the United States and Great Britain, which had just been sent to the Hague. Three years later he was again elected to Congress, and was offered the honor of a special mission to the United States on the occasion of the centennial of Argentine independence, but was obliged to decline on account of his health. He played an important rôle in the debates which took place on the question of an unlimited leave of absence for President Sáenz Peña, and in the discussion with regard to the sale of two Argentine cruisers as a part of a policy of reducing armaments in 1914. In 1916 he retired to private life. Offered the embassy to Great Britain in the course of the next year, and a place on the commission of jurists which drew up the statute for the World Court in 1920, he felt compelled to refuse both honors. By this time he had only a year to live. He died on June 9, 1921.

The volumes here under review are prefaced by a biographical essay by his son. This essay is written with much detachment, and is remarkably free from any kind of filial extravagance. One finds oneself wishing that it gave us a little more insight into what must have been an extremely interesting and significant personality.

It is difficult, indeed, from these speeches and writings to reconstruct very satisfactorily the man with whom they deal. The number of private letters is small; the collection consists for the most part of public speeches, commentaries on private and public law, a certain amount of diplomatic correspondence, and a highly interesting collection of materials with regard to the Drago doctrine, the second Hague conference, and the fisheries arbitration. But one gets, nevertheless,

some insight into personality from a perusal of these materials. It is interesting to find Dr. Drago, for example, interesting himself in Macaulay's essay on history, and in Carlyle's essay on Doctor Francia. It is interesting to discover him writing as a young man a thesis on Marital Authority, and identifying himself with the idea of civil emancipation of married women, though reform in this matter was only accomplished some years after his death. It is interesting to see him opposing lotteries, and to observe in much of his correspondence a strong sense of personal dignity, and of regard for the dignity of his nation. One would like to know more about the circumstances of his resignation from his post as foreign minister. Here the reasons given seem trivial, and his son's explanation hardly flattering to the minister's sense of proportion. Finally, one certainly gets the impression of a personality strongly individualistic, wide in its interests, and of very substantial learning.

The part of these volumes which is likely to be of most value to readers in the United States is naturally that concerned with the enunciation of the Drago Doctrine. It is impossible to read Dr. Drago's correspondence on this matter without perceiving that he was a friend of American coöperation, and a convinced believer in the principles of the Monroe Doctrine. In his own view, indeed, he sought to give them an extension, in his famous note of December 29, 1902. But he regarded the principle which bears his name as a principle which was peculiarly applicable to the republics of the New World, and he did not wish to see it fused in any more general formula. Still more, he was not at all gratified at the proposal put forward by the American delegation at the second Hague conference of 1907, which proposed to forbid the use of force in the collection of contract debts unless arbitration had been offered and refused. To the Argentine jurist, such a proposal was equivalent to a recognition of the validity of the use of force in some circumstances, and to that use he was firmly opposed. He took, however, no intransigent or obstructionist view at the Hague, but was the leader in suggesting reservations to the American proposition. In this, he was opposed by the representative of Brazil.

It is interesting to observe that in the fisheries arbitration Dr. Drago, in a separate and dissenting opinion on the question of the extent of the bays referred to the treaty of 1818 (which was the basis of the judgment), took occasion to point out that as an historical matter certain bays, among which he mentioned Chesapeake Bay, and the bay of La Plata, were under national jurisdiction, despite their large size. In general, he was rather critical of the decision of the arbitral tribunal on this matter.

Drago was a friend of compulsory arbitration, a firm defender of legal processes, and a protagonist of international understanding. He combined a just solicitude for the interests of his country, with a very substantial measure of international idealism. He is an interesting figure in that happy age—which every thoughtful man hopes to see restored—when questions of international right and justice could be discussed in an atmosphere of reasonable discussion. He would have detested the age of violence in which we live today. And it seems not unlikely that he would look to the United States, in concert with his own country, to take its stand in behalf of those standards of legality and peace which he sought consistently to uphold.

DEXTER PERKINS.

University of Rochester.

Our Rising Empire, 1763-1803. By ARTHUR BURR DARLING. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1940. Pp. v, 595. \$5.00.)

This volume might well serve as a supplemental text to a course in the diplomatic history of the United States. Its title, however, seems to the reviewer somewhat misleading. "Empire" and "imperial" are terms that will apply to the United States in a limited sense only, especially for the period covered, nor does the purchase of Louisiana seem a good point at which to end the volume. The Monroe Doctrine, in his opinion, more fittingly closes the diplomatic era that began with the Peace of Paris of 1763. It is to be hoped that the author will give us a companion volume, covering the remaining twenty years.

This volume, *per se*, performs an important function. It synthesizes the host of monographic writings and documentary collections that crown a half century of productive research. In footnote and appendix the author gives generous acknowledgment to fellow workers but likewise reveals personal familiarity with the sources used by them and skillfull selection based on classroom experience. He has not confined his attention to capitals and courts but has shown clearly and in ample detail the bearing of frontier happenings on final treaties. It is largely because of this inclusion of frontier influences, that the reviewer questions the relevancy of his title. Certainly the builders of the American Union and above all the men operating in the western forests would be the very first to repudiate any suggestion of "imperialism" in connection with their efforts. On the other hand their express contribution should in some way receive recognition in the title.

One marvels at the scope of this book. Not an important diplomat at European or American capitals or a significant frontiersman, nor a furtive European agent on the seaboard or the interior but receives due mention. Another might select different characters or events for emphasis than Doctor Darling has, and he might differ with him in interpretation, but all will recognize in his work a remarkable familiarity with the varied factors that determined early American expansion. Some actors of the period might well come in for more extended treatment, had the volume extended twenty years farther to include the struggle for independence in Hispanic America. Some specialists may occasionally detect lacunae or apparent slips in interpretation that a more thorough examination of particular manuscript collections might have avoided, but no interpreter, even of a limited period, can aspire to omniscience.

In distribution of space the book seems well organized. Five chapters cover the Revolution and the Confederation; nine, the administrations of Washington and of Adams; and five, the Jefferson administration to the Purchase. The Bibliography fills ten pages and the Index twenty-eight. Binding and press work are in keeping with the best traditions of the Yale Press. Altogether the volume will prove a welcome addition to the teaching material of the period.

ISAAC J. COX.

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História do Império: A elaboração da independência (1808-1823); O primeiro reinado (tomo I, 1823-1826). By TOBIAS DO REGO MONTEIRO. (Rio de Janeiro: F. Briguiet & Cia., 1927, 1939. 2 vols. Pp. 869 and 448. Maps, portraits. 50\$000 and 65\$000.)

The author of this important contribution to historiography is a journalist, historian, and statesman whose privilege has been to participate in historical events as well as to write about them. As private secretary of Rui Barbosa, when the latter was Minister of Finance of the Provisional Government of the Republic (1889-1891), he followed closely the inner functioning of that régime in Brazil in its early years. Later he accompanied President Campos Sales to Europe as correspondent of the *Jornal do Commercio*, one of the oldest and most influential newspapers of all Brazil. From 1894 to 1907 he was chief editor of that newspaper and for several years he served as a member of the Brazilian Congress, representing his native state, Rio Grande do Norte, in the Federal Senate. He was also one of the staunchest advocates of the Brazilian participation in the World War I on the side of the Allies.

Tobias Monteiro has devoted many years to the reëxamination of existing documents relating to the history of his country since independence. He published a partial account of the results of his researches in Tours, France. This work was later revised and published as the first of the two volumes herein reviewed, under the general title of *História do Império*, to be followed by several other volumes completing the study of the first reign, the regency, and the reign of Dom Pedro II.

In the volume, *A elaboração da independência*, the author gives us a detailed account of Portugal's condition after the French Revolution leading up to the invasion of that kingdom by Napoleonic troops in 1807 and the consequent flight of the Portuguese Royal Family to Brazil. In the fifth chapter the author studies with great detail the intrigues carried on for a long time in the River Plate region by Dona Carlota Joaquina, wife of the Prince Regent and later King, Dom João VI. To the as yet incomplete story of these intrigues the author makes a valuable contribution. Other chapters deal with the events which led to the declaration of the Brazilian independence, the participation therein of the Andrada brothers, the Constituent Assembly of 1823 and its dissolution by Dom Pedro I.

In the volume, *O primeiro reinado* (tomo I includes the period from 1823 to 1826), the Constitution adopted by the Brazilian Empire in 1824 is studied in great detail. There follows a very comprehensive description of the Revolution of 1824, an attempt by several northeastern provinces to secede and establish an independent state under the name of the Confederation of the Equator. The book ends by a careful consideration of the long and painful diplomatic negotiations leading to the recognition of Brazil's independence by Portugal and the other European countries. Little is said, however, as to negotiations carried on at the same time for the recognition of the new government by the United States, which took place before that of Portugal and Great Britain, as it is well known. It is to be hoped that the author will devote some pages to this matter in a future volume in view of the importance of the relations between the two countries in later years.

It must be recognized that Tobias Monteiro has accomplished a very remarkable piece of work in a spirit of unbiased consideration of the historical evidence available and in an attempt to present as complete a picture of the political events as possible. His style is clear and dignified. Reference notes are included whenever they have special significance. No bibliography has been appended to the volumes published, but it is to be hoped that the author will see fit to include in some future volume a list of his principal sources for the benefit of

other scholars who may be interested in the study of the same subject matter.

Since this work is now in the process of publication, it is obviously impossible to pass judgment on it as a whole. However, judging from what has already been published, it is not difficult to conclude that this is one of the most comprehensive and conclusive studies yet published on the period to which it refers.

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El Presidente Balmaceda. By JOSÉ MIGUEL YRARRÁZAVAL LARRAÍN. (Santiago de Chile: Editorial Nascimento, 1940. 2 vols. Pp. 398, 468. Paper, \$2.00.)

Of all Chile's presidents, none has been the subject of more controversial biographical studies than José Manuel Balmaceda, who guided that nation's destiny during the years 1886 to 1891. Appearing on the centennial of his birth, the two-volume publication under review is the most recent account of the rôle played by this eminent Hispanic American in his country's development. The efforts of the author, José Miguel Yrarrázaval Larrain, one of Chile's more capable scholars, have proved fruitful and consequential. Despite numerous, and even serious, deficiencies, his work provides the most objective information pertinent to the chief executive that has appeared during the half century which has elapsed since the latter's tragic death in 1891.

A patrician by birth and educated for the priesthood, Don José Manuel was converted to the liberal-reform crusade of his age in Chile, and decided to devote his life to politics. Throughout the remainder of his life, as the writer makes very evident, he was a seeming contradiction to the laws of heredity and environment, a notable exponent of the old adage, *noblesse oblige*. Regarding himself as a tribune on behalf of the masses, the romantic idealist was a prominent member of the chamber of deputies from 1870 until he entered the cabinet of President Santa María, first, as minister of foreign affairs and, later, as minister of the interior. In Congress, Balmaceda was, at all times, the independent reformer and ardent nationalist. Above all else, he favored legislation calling for the curtailment of the powers and privileges of the landed aristocracy and the Roman Catholic Church, so clearly sanctioned by the constitution of 1833. Yet, the author admits that the enthusiastic statesman, in his zeal for democratic progress, made embarrassing compromises, some in marked contradiction to his former principles. Indeed, when leading minister

of the republic, from 1882 to 1885, and, finally, as chief executive himself, the determined liberal trampled upon the very ideal he had held most sacred to a free government—electoral liberty.

Under Balmaceda's stimulation the nation engaged upon the most extensive program of public works and education it had ever witnessed. Yrarrázaval Larrain, sympathetic with the program in question, furnishes the reader with a good deal of specific evidence indicating its scope and significance. "Looking backwards . . . there can be no doubt," he asserts, "that Balmaceda—a mandatary so highly diligent and zealous for the good reputation and progress of his country—had been extremely fruitful and successful (Vol. II, p. 180)." Nevertheless, the president was unable to carry out his plans fully. The chief obstacle to his program was Congress, which really represented the oligarchy, that had dominated Chile since colonial days. Moreover, many sincere reformers disliked the chief executive's imperious temperament. Therefore, by the close of 1889, Balmaceda found that he was totally unable to maintain a majority to support his ministry, for the practice had evolved whereby cabinets would fall whenever the confidence of the legislature was lost.

Becoming provoked with the deliberately uncooperative spirit of the legislature, President Balmaceda decided, in the end, to retain his cabinet, even without the legislature's approval. The latter responded by refusing to sanction the budget for 1891. The president, thereupon, announced that he would keep in force the estimates for the previous year. His action was immediately termed unconstitutional, and employed as the issue for the beginning of a civil war which proved to be one of the most sanguinary in the annals of South American history. Congress, reflecting the will of the landowners and ecclesiastical interests, fought, ironically enough, in the name of constitutional democratic government against the reactionary and dictatorial régime of Balmaceda. Unfortunately, the writer fails adequately to stress this all-important factor. He appears, indeed, almost to convince himself (surely, the evidence offered could never sway the critic to any such illogical conclusion) that the real issue involved was, after all, the constitutional one. The armed struggle, lasting nine tragic months, drew the attention of the entire world. In the end, the rebels were victorious, and Don José Manuel hid in the Argentine legation of the capital. Believing his death might lessen the persecution of his friends and supporters, he committed suicide, on September 19, 1891, the day after his official term had expired, thus making himself a martyr on behalf of social progress in Chile.

This publication, although a very important one, is marred by

numerous deficiencies and weaknesses. The author's style is, unfortunately enough, excessively pedantic, and his paragraphs entirely too lengthy. But the chief fault of the work is that it is ill-balanced. In fact, the work is decidedly more of a political and constitutional history of the period than, as its title would indicate, a study of Balmaceda's career. One learns virtually nothing of the chief executive's personal traits, family, or social life; even his political concepts are none too clearly presented. In a word, the biographer leaves the difficult task of constructing Don José Manuel's complex character and personality to the reader's own imagination. It is regrettable, too, that some of the most suggestive and interesting information about the Chilean leader is relegated to footnotes in the back of each volume.

Moreover, entirely too little attention is paid to the social and economic problems of nineteenth-century Chile. Political struggles and the rise and fall of ministries seem to dominate most of the study. For example, the all-important question of large estates is totally ignored or overlooked, while the significance of the rising middle class finds no comment. In addition, the important influence of European political ideology after the revolutions of 1848, so well reflected in the writings of the great Chilean radical and intellectual idol of Balmaceda, Francisco Bilbao, completely escapes the writer's attention. He is, regrettably, far more concerned about the momentary causes of cabinet crises than the underlying problem of Chile's highly stratified society. It is also unfortunate that he does not give more space to the important mission of Deputy Balmaceda to the Plata at the outbreak of the War of the Pacific in 1879. This interesting episode in Don José Manuel's career still awaits the fuller treatment it so clearly deserves.

The distinction existing among the several political factions, as treated in the study, prove even more vague than they actually were; while the Reform Party makes the usual mysterious disappearance common to other books on this topic. Balmaceda's highly chauvinistic spirit during the struggle against Peru and Bolivia (1879-1883) might have been treated in greater detail; certainly, the rôle he played in the election of his predecessor, Domingo Santa María, deserves at least passing mention. Moreover, the inclusion of a bibliography and a copy of the constitution of 1833, so frequently referred to in the text, would have improved the study. Finally, it is difficult to understand why the author makes no reference anywhere in his two volumes to such biographies of Balmaceda as those by Joaquín Rodríguez Bravo, Ricardo Salas Edwards, or Joaquín Villarino—all important works.

Nevertheless, the present study is a welcome contribution to the

literature on José Manuel Balmaceda. It contains a wealth of original, objectively presented, and well-substantiated material. The documentation offered is especially rich, and the author's references are consistently accurate and complete. Yrarrázaval Larrain has been careful to provide adequate background to the numerous issues he so ably treats, and the entire publication is rooted in careful scholarship and sympathetic enthusiasm. The sections devoted to Don José Manuel's early career constitute the first analytical and complete account to yet appear. Fortunately, the writer has avoided the pitfall of most previous biographers of the great president by not devoting an excessively large part to the military conflict of 1891 itself. Instead, he has wisely chosen to dwell upon the significant consequences of the civil war, concluding that most of Balmaceda's ideals were fulfilled in later Chilean history (i. e., the constitution of 1925).

The summed-up judgment of the reviewer is that the publication is a particularly useful and significant one for the student of Hispanic-American history. Yrarrázaval Larrain has succeeded, despite some evident defects in his presentation, in placing José Manuel Balmaceda of Chile in the front rank of South America's great statesmen and patriots.

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*El porfirismo: historia de un régimen.** Vol. 1, *El Nacimiento* (1876-1884). By JOSÉ C. VALADÉS. (Mexico: Antigua Librería Robredo, 1941. \$10.00 m/n.)

The title of a book has the function of suggesting the content. Thus *porfirismo* implies a system of thought or action or conduct centering about Porfirio Díaz. A discussion of *porfirismo* necessarily brings up many problems of historical criticism—problems which must be considered out of justice to Sr. Valadés and to the herculean task he has taken upon himself.

What is *porfirismo*? How well or ill the author answers the question will depend upon the two volumes yet to appear. Here we can only discuss his approach to the problem, which is attacked as stated by the author, "en un deseo no de ratificar o rectificar lo específicamente concreto del vocablo, sino en un propósito de penetrar en una época tan rodeada de abrojos como tan plantada de laureles."

The confusion of the author (which he honestly acknowledges) is reflected throughout this first volume. If history is not a "ratification" or a "rectification," one may properly ask what its function

* The Vasconcelos Interpretation (a review article).

really is. In spite of his statement, Sr. Valadés is, in fact, writing a "rectification." Otherwise, there would be no sense in writing the book at all, for the main currents of events during the reign of Don Porfirio are sufficiently well known already. Therefore, it is essential for us to discover the premises upon which he bases his exposition of *porfirismo*.

It is not easy to trace the argument of Sr. Valadés through the vast number of clippings which form the body of his book. One must ferret it out by watching for some principle of selection and by considering the scattered observations which cement them together. There is no use in the author's protesting that his book is nothing more than "laboriosidad." He deceives himself. No history was ever composed without some principle of selection. If the author does not know what that principle was in this case, it is the reviewer's duty to point it out. That principle, in a word, is a diluted form of *vasconcelismo*; that is, in his choice of evidence and in his half-hidden judgments, Sr. Valadés is guided by the precepts of José Vasconcelos.

The argument of Vasconcelos, as best set forth in his *Breve historia de México* (1937), may be summed up as follows: Mexico's salvation lies in her reaffirming the pattern laid down by sixteenth-century Spain: the triad of Church, King, and Army—in short, a theocratic-authoritarian state. From this premise it follows that the liberal leaders, such as Gómez Farías, Benito Juárez, Santos Degollado, Lázaro Cárdenas, and all degrees of liberal, materialistic, and "scientific" movements have been disastrous for Mexico. They have led to the importation of uncomprehended foreign doctrines, and the result has been chaos and fratricide. The influence of the United States, with its religious latitudinarianism and emphasis upon material progress, is particularly deplored, as is that of nineteenth-century France. The Vasconcelos school, therefore, tends to look with more or less open approval upon such authoritarian experiments as those of Franco, Hitler, and Mussolini. The national heroes of the school are Iturbide, Lucas Alamán, and Porfirio Díaz, and there is a discernible tendency to look kindly upon the aberrations of Santa Anna. The fundamental political ideas of the school may be restated in the terms of the Hapsburg hierarchy: a paternalistic church-state, undisputed authority above and unquestioning obedience from below; a Catholic, conservative Mexico under a strong ruler. In such wise will the true national heritage of Mexico (*la Gran España*) be preserved and foreign heresies will be kept from polluting the body politic.

Such, I believe, is a fair summary of the underlying notions of *vasconcelismo*. That our author is a tried *vasconcelista* is already ap-

parent from his able life of Lucas Alamán (1938). In the present volume his judgments of men and movements conform to the same pattern. The book must be read with this in mind. Otherwise, the reader will be properly confused by the author's "rectifications," most of which are aimed at correcting the interpretations of the liberal school.

Now, a proper authoritarian state must have a strong man at the top. No strong man, no state. So our author is obliged to build up Díaz as the strong man. Thus Díaz chose a military in preference to a civil career, because: "Un hombre que aspiraba a más dentro del Estado mexicano tenía que lanzarse a la milicia. De aquí el vigor y la fuerza que siempre ha tenido el partido militar en México, cuyos miembros han sido reclutados entre los mas ambiciosos. Un país pobre, sin industria, sin agricultura, y sin economía propias, no podía ofrecer al individuo que aspirase al Poder otra perspectiva para lo futuro que el ejército" (p. 5).

All of which is true, but the author should have pointed out that one of the prime reasons for the poverty he laments was that very "partido militar," which preferred the facile satisfactions of the military life to the more sober pursuit of building up a national economy. Indeed, the lawless conduct of most military chieftains, which it is often difficult to distinguish from out-and-out banditry, was the most formidable obstacle in the way of achieving nationhood. And, he might have added, Porfirio Díaz, up to his seizure of power in 1876, was one of the worst offenders.

Further building up of the strong man: "Para la ciudad de México el General Díaz, que otorgaba el perdón a los rendidos imperialistas; que guiaba sus pasos con prudencia; que había combatido a los franceses con éxito, era el héroe de la paz y de la concordancia nacionales. Un serio oponente a la política de violencia de don Benito Juárez surgió desde el día en que los republicanos, a las órdenes de don Porfirio, ocuparon la capital federal" (p. 10).

A foreign reader is constantly amazed by the extremes to which partisanship carries what is presumably sober history. Díaz, to be sure, was a deservedly popular general in 1867, and his moderate treatment of the captured city was a credit to his statesmanship, but to make him the white hope of Mexico against the "violencia de don Benito Juárez" is entirely to misread the records. The popular hero of Mexico who emerged from the ghastly ten years of civil war was, beyond all cavil, Benito Juárez. Otherwise, nothing can explain the dismal failure of all Díaz' efforts to seize power while Juárez was alive. In fact, so poor was the general opinion of Díaz that for four years

after the death of Juárez he could not muster enough support to oust the despised "burócrata," Sebastián Lerdo de Tejada.

Our author's hatred of Juárez and all he stands for leads him to blacken the name of that stout and able old warrior, Sostenes Rocha, who for two administrations chased Díaz from pillar to post and out of the country. But Rocha, under our author's treatment, becomes a "fusilador profesional," unworthy of directing the national military academy (p. 141). Now, anyone will grant that the rough-and-ready Sostenes Rocha, who was notoriously fond of his bottle, was not a proper head for the military academy, but surely it is a topsy-turvy set of values which would destroy the name of one of the few generals who put duty above personal advantage. Rocha, to be sure, shot his prisoners in batches, but that was the general pattern of conduct in the Mexican civil wars—a pattern to which Díaz offered no exception. But Rocha had a virtue as rare as it was great: he was fiercely loyal. The strong man, evidently, is absolved from such weakness.

The strong man must not only be strong; he must be clairvoyant. Thus, speaking of Díaz' resentful break with Juárez in 1867, Valadés explains: "Pero el resentimiento de don Porfirio no provenía de la pequeñez de no verse en el seno del gabinete republicano de Juárez. Era otra la causa del malestar del General Díaz: es que *preveía* el poderío del partido burocrático; de ese partido tenebroso, despiadado, indolente, que provocó una y muchas veces tan serias rivalidades en el seno de la autoridad mexicana" (p. 11. Emphasis supplied).

This phobia against the "partido burocrático" (a party which exists mostly in the imagination of Sr. Vasconcelos) leads Valadés into a curious situation. Díaz somehow "foresaw" the power of that "party" and evidently knew it was "tenebroso, despiadado," etc.! I do not quarrel with Sr. Valadés for supplying motives, but I insist that they must be reasonable motives, that they must fit into the picture. And it is surely nonsense to imply that Díaz had any dislike for bureaucrats. He took over the whole outfit of them when he seized power and made them into the most thoroughgoing political machine ever seen in Mexico. By the end of his reign it had absorbed a very large proportion of the whole Mexican middle class. There was not an office in the country, from village notary to governor, that was not filled with one of Don Porfirio's creatures.

Sebastián Lerdo de Tejada comes in for a great deal of drubbing at the hands of our author. Lerdo was the arch-bureaucrat and everything he did was bad. "Con sentido burocrático, Lerdo no sabe superar ni perdonar a sus enemigos. Todavía estaba animado de la morbosa mentalidad que inspiró la ejecución de Maximiliano. . . .

Lerdo no sabe, ni puede, tender la mano al partido contrario, a pesar de que el lerdistismo es victorioso y dominador" (p. 14). To your reviewer this is a narrow-minded and ungenerous criticism of Lerdo, who was faced with the fearful problem of running the country with a bankrupt treasury, while disgruntled caudillos of Díaz' stripe were doing everything in their power to discredit him. Lerdo was anything but "victorioso y dominador." When he was declared elected by Congress, his principal opponent, Díaz, "pronounced" the election fraudulent in classical style, and Lerdo and Rocha had their hands full maintaining a precarious hold on their legitimate power. And what sense is there in implying that everything would have been lovely if Lerdo had only "held out his hand" to his enemies? What is there in the history of Porfirio Díaz to lead one to believe he would not have betrayed Lerdo as he had betrayed Juárez? It sounds odd also, coming from a Mexican, to condemn Juárez, he of the "sickly mentality," for the execution of Maximilian. It may be arguable that Juárez acted mistakenly in that famous case, that it was poor statesmanship, but to make it the act of a diseased mind. . . ! But it is a good system to build up greatness by depressing all rivals. Aesop has a fable about it.

It would be unjust to Sr. Valadés to infer that he approves of all the means by which Díaz achieved power. It was a rude age, and one must make allowance for a certain amount of violence. Thus: "*En su nacimiento, el porfirismo continuó el vicioso y antihumano sistema de castigar los delitos políticos con el mismo rigor que los delitos de orden criminal*" (p. 134. Emphasis supplied). He is referring to imprisonment, torture, and the general application of the "ley fuga" to embarrassing parties. But Don Porfirio inherited the system and could hardly have thought it up on his own. And he used it only at the beginning? The author should know better. The "ley fuga," imprisonment, and assorted tortures were used by the Rurales throughout Don Porfirio's reign. Indeed, they are a necessary concomitant of the strong-man thesis and should be honestly acknowledged. The strong man cannot be a slave to legalism. The only question in this case is whether or not the price has been too high.

No one of this curious "bureaucratic party" can hope to escape castigation. Thus, most of Chapter V, "El Poder del Escriviente," is a long scolding. "La historia del partido burocrático hace ver la incapacidad de éste. . . . Ni siquiera pudo, no obstante de que tal era una de sus principales misiones, establecer un sistema de tributación nacional. Esta falta . . . se debió, en efecto, a la inexistencia de un Estado Nacional" (p. 199). The "National State" came into existence

only when the strong man emerged. At the risk of being tiresome, I must repeat that such an affirmation is only possible within the narrow limits of *vasconcelismo*, which will not allow its opponents to be more than a contemptible lot of pen-pushers. What, one may ask, did Juárez and his group have in mind when they fought for ten years to establish a durable state built along liberal lines? A stout member of that group, until he was overcome by delusions of grandeur, was Don Porfirio himself. The National State is impossible, however, under liberalism. "Defendían así Dublán y Prieto a la Sociedad, y no al Estado; y es que sobre la necesidad de crear un Estado Nacional, había en los políticos de la época un culto especial a la libertad; no surgía aún el culto al Estado" (p. 214).

One of the most intelligent, honest, and patriotic of Mexican statesmen was Don Matías Romero, who had the thankless and fearfully difficult task of keeping the finances of the country afloat during the reconstruction period. But he had the misfortune of being a liberal "bureaucrat." "Don Matías Romero, confundiendo la hacienda pública con la riqueza general, pensaba que la secretaría del ramo estaba llamada a realizar una función encaminada a dirigir la economía del país. . . ." (p. 219). In other words, Romero is condemned for *not* being a pen-pusher and for imagining that somehow the prosperity of the country was intimately linked with the prosperity of the government!

One of the many disappointments of Sr. Valadés' book is his failure to make a sensible evaluation of the work of Gabino Barreda, the high priest of modern education in Mexico. Sandwiched in between two highly eulogistic passages quoted from obituary notices by Justo Sierra and Porfirio Parra, Valadés makes the following curious observation: "Fué Barreda el sacerdote de esa religión que parecía alumbrar al universo: la religión a la libertad. Creyó en la ciencia; amó la ciencia; pero vivió en un mundo extraño al del cielo que cubría a su país. Hizo una escuela que fué la base sobre la que se erigió el régimen porfirista; escuela de la que hubo de salir ese grupo dominante descreído e impío, antiespañol y afrancesado, que sólo quiso saber de la dirección de las cosas, olvidando el valor del alma humana" (p. 196).

Such a pietistic interpretation of positivism is *vasconcelismo* at its worst. To allow the tremendous revolution in thought represented by the Mexican followers of Comte to go by without further analysis is to miss the whole import of that revolution. Regardless of what Vasconcelos and his group of nostalgic romanticists think of the idea of progress, it is bad history to commit the anachronism of making Ba-

rreda responsible for the twisted and hypocritical use to which his concepts were put by the "científicos" of later days. Valadés owes it to his readers to point out that Barreda, Sierra, and Parra were high-minded patriots who fought mightily to raise their country from its killing lethargy. It may be true, as Valadés implies, that the whole effort was mistaken, that modern thought of Comte's type had no place in Mexico. And it is certainly true that the bastard positivism of their followers was calamitous in its breeding of a cynical materialism. But it is as unjust to make Barreda responsible for that as it would be to charge Diderot and Condorcet with the excesses of the Jacobins.

A book of this type presents a difficult problem to the reviewer. We are no longer allowed to rewrite a book after the fashion of Macaulay, but it would require nothing less to point out every instance in which Sr. Valadés has selected his materials to further his case. However, I believe I have noted sufficient examples to show that *El Porfirismo* belongs among the apologia for the *ancien régime* which have been appearing lately in increasing numbers.

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Zapata the Unconquerable. By EDGCUMB PINCHON. (New York: Doubleday, Doran and Co., Inc., 1941. Pp. x, 332. Illustrations 1. Map. \$3.00.)

A prominent writer of folklore tales and historical fiction, rejecting absolutely the admonition that truth is stranger than fiction, once insisted over this reviewer's protest that historians depended too much on fact and as a result most historical writing was dry. It seems that in his new book on another Mexican revolutionary hero, Mr. Pinchon has struck a happy medium between the folklorist's contention and the reviewer's protest. Admitting that he was on new ground, since no reliable biography of Zapata had yet been written, and feeling that he should have some historical background for his vividly told tale, the author went to several sources, almost all of them partisan to the Zapatista cause, and in addition lived in Zapata's home state, Morelos, for a year, consulting with people who knew Zapata. Ironically enough, Morelos is named after the one independence leader who fought for agrarian reforms, and there the peasant conditions by 1910 were the worst in Mexico, the entire state belonging to approximately thirty families.

For the historian, it might be regretted that Mr. Pinchon did not consult in addition Rafael Sánchez Escobar's *Episodios de la Revolu-*

ción Mexicana en el sur (Mexico City, 1934); Alfonso Taracena's *La tragedia zapatista. Historia de la revolución del sur* (Mexico City, 1932); Antenor Sala's *Emiliano Zapata y el problema agrario en la República Mexicana: el sistema sala y el Plan de Ayala* (Mexico City, 1919); *Méjico revolucionario a los pueblos de Europa y América, 1910-1918* (a series of documents of the Zapatista government's activities, published in Havana, no date); and some of the anti-Zapatista literature, no matter how partisan and propagandistic it might be. Among these might well be cited H. H. Dunn's *The Crimson Jester, Zapata of Mexico* (New York, 1934) and Antonio D. Melgarejo's *Los crímenes del zapatismo: Apuntes de un guerrillero* (Mexico City, 1913).

Perhaps Pinchon is too partial to our hero. It seems that Zapata could do nothing except in exaggerated form. But perhaps that also helped in emphasizing the point that in Mexico even at the time the revolution began, people still followed leaders and not principles or parties. Without a doubt Zapata was a great leader, but perhaps not as great an individual as Morelense folklore today would have us believe. Nevertheless, as Antonio Bahamonde has so well pointed out in his *Méjico es así*, both Villistas and Zapatistas, fighting for the unfortunates, could not always be held responsible for their crimes against the people who had held down the masses when through their opportunities and education they should have been the ones to know better. Mr. Pinchon, without a doubt, agrees with this philosophy, condemning without mercy the Porfirista régime. He even goes so far as to call the Científicos anachronistically a Fascist phalange!

It is interesting to note that Zapata had a hard time to keep his followers in line and to keep them from attacking foolishly, for they wanted no gradual revolution but an immediate uprising. This fact seems historically accurate and merely strengthens the point of liberal writers that the conditions were so bad just before 1910 that the revolt was a spontaneous uprising, gaining so rapidly that it unfortunately created its own leaders, some of whom were mere demagogues and most of whom would easily compromise with the old régime for a price. Zapata was not one of these. He refused twice to retire at the price of an hacienda offered him by Madero. He also refused to compromise with Carranza unless agrarian reforms were instituted. Never once did this ideal vanish.

Zapata had an exceptional organizational ability and sense for the strategic. He used the fiesta of Guadalupe to campaign for his gubernatorial candidate against the known opposition (backed by rifles and rurales) of the Porfiristas. His plan to attack Cuautla, although of

extreme importance, he refused to divulge even to his intimates until the time of attack. He demanded absolute obedience to his orders, and persistent opposition was answered with "Do you speak, or do I!" But this stern military attitude was grounded on unwavering integrity and honesty. And all the libelous writings published against Zapata will never sway the author from this conviction. The flood of propaganda launched against the Zapatistas when Madero again permitted freedom of the press curiously enough has its counterpart in both Mexico and the United States today, where freedom of press and speech permit liberal leaders to be consistently and systematically held up for vilification.

Among the weaknesses of the book, and they are few, might be mentioned the seemingly ridiculous American habit of using bad Spanish together with English conversation, as if these people, knowing only one language, might be speaking two. This policy, overly indulged in by American writers, seems, to say the least, very out of place, but Pinchon goes even farther, using "colonel" and "coronel" on the same page (p. 308) and obvious errors, such as "Perdóneme, amigos" (p. 99), and frequent employment of the verbs "dispensar" and "perdonar" for leave-taking. There are far too many mistakes in spelling of Spanish words, and we can readily believe the author's admission that the Morelenses "endured" his Spanish. But why should he suddenly for a few pages employ the familiar "thou" in conversation and then as rapidly abandon it? And why the English translation, "Wolf Canyon?" (p. 107). Mr. Pinchon's knowledge of Spanish is also clearly illustrated on page 122, when in the *same conversation* he employs "thou" and "you" by and to the same persons.

With all these weaknesses, unrecognizable to most Americans, who will not learn foreign languages, the book has many strong points. The story never lags, the style is vigorous, the titles are catching and intriguing, and there is a fine balance between narrative and description. Needless to say, only the most important and heroic parts of the protagonist's career are presented, skilfully woven together in what becomes on the whole an excellent biography. Although at times we want to find new words to replace the oft-repeated "runnels," "skyey trails," and "huge crawling snakes" (Zapata's army), the style far more frequently becomes almost eloquent and indeed beautiful. Tepoztlán, the love of every Mexicanophile's heart, is described as "clinging like a swift under the eaves of Mexico's rooftop." The peones are "convicts in white, ripped from their village womb, shorn of home and household gods, the fellowship of the commune, leisure, laughter—barely given corn." And when Zapata's independent gov-

ernment was launched with the Plan de Ayala, "the line was drawn. Los Indios had spoken. And although Maderio did not know it, and his Porfirista advisers did not know it, and the hacendado Sons of the Conquest did not know it, the Conquest of the Conquest was on."

And Mr. Pinchon tries to make us see the importance of this Conquest of the Conquest. He has done a great service in acquainting the American public with the one caudillo who before President Cárdenas realized the main cause of discontent of the oppressed masses and tried to do something to change it. And the agrarian question is still the question today. Even if he knows little Spanish, the author knows and loves the Mexican people, the masses of Mexico, and that is more than can be said for most of the writers who have recently flooded the market with books attempting to interpret Mexico for the North Americans. Mr. Pinchon proves again that a knowledge of a people's history (which includes their problems and their aspirations) almost automatically breeds sympathy for them. And so he comes to the conclusion, shared by the Mexican peasants, "This Zapata is not a man, he is a Symbol—the Symbol of a situation that must be dealt with." That must be dealt with the world over.

University of Colorado.

FRITZ L. HOFFMANN.

Many Mexicos. By LESLIE BYRD SIMPSON. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1941. Pp. xiii, 336. \$3.00.)

During her life as an independent nation Mexico has suffered unbelievable misfortunes of her own making and some indignities at the hands of the people and government of the United States. Not the least among the latter has been the plague of travel books and amateur interpretations of "this picturesque republic." Professional vagabond litterateurs, ax-grinders for various political nostrums, glib newspaper men, all have had their fling at it and in the mass of verbiage there have been pitifully few dependable and readable books, such as Eyler Simpson's *The Ejido* or Gruening's *Mexico: Its Heritage*.

In another direction, numerous patient historians in the United States have been exploring the documentation of Mexico's past and particularly the colonial period, accumulating data and pertinent conclusions which would go far to clarify the problems of the present and the recent past. Unfortunately, either because of inability to write the English language well and attractively or because of academic scorn for the layman's thirst for information about Mexico, professional historians have been inclined to regard their findings as part of a ritual to be kept within the fraternity. In the author of

Many Mexicos, however, we have an historian whose competence and professional reputation are unquestioned, and yet who dares to step out of the charmed inner circle and bridge the gap between the monograph and the popularized book on Mexico. Professor Simpson states his aim clearly: "I have limited myself to a discussion of such institutions, of such habits of life and thought, and of the lives of such men as, in my opinion, have left the deepest impress on the country. The materials are arranged to throw these things into high relief. The method is admittedly subjective and my interpretations will be challenged, but my information is as straight as the sources will allow."

The title, *Many Mexicos*, suggests that the author is setting out to interpret and disentangle the complex elements which make up present-day Mexico—a kind of condensed cultural history of the country. On this assumption, the reader's first casual glance at the scheme of the book may be extremely disconcerting. He will find that nearly two thirds of Dr. Simpson's pages are devoted to the colonial period and that the chapters narrating Mexico's recent history are sketchy indeed. The usual lengthy discussion with statistics concerning the agrarian problem, the educational campaign, etc., which characterize the orthodox presentation of the "Mexican question" are lacking. If the reader is aware of the author's excellent investigations in colonial economic history, he may hastily conclude that Dr. Simpson is exercising academic caution by confining himself to his "field." To some extent this may be true, but a much more pertinent explanation for the amount of attention given to colonial Mexico is the author's conviction, implicit in his whole treatment, that modern Mexico is only comprehensible in terms of her colonial heritage; that the complexities of the modern social scene are largely contemporary manifestations of patterns developed before independence. It would be surprising if Professor Simpson's treatment of Republican Mexico and especially of recent events did not lack the vigor and accent of authority which are so evident in the earlier chapters.

Dr. Simpson is convinced that all of Mexico's other problems are subordinate to the central one of the production of foodstuffs and the economic institutions related to it. Consequently he devotes many illuminating pages to this topic. The chapter entitled, "Work in Utopia," is a particularly fine summary of the results of recent research concerning the *encomienda* and the *repartimiento*.

Other constant themes which are woven prominently into this synthesis of cultural history are the evangelical work of the church in colonial Mexico and the root-deep influence of religion in every cranny

of the nation's life; the development of the *hidalgo*, indolent landlord tradition; and the complex of authoritarianism which has plagued the nation from her beginnings.

Lest one think that *Many Mexicos* is nothing but a drab digest of institutional history, I should point out that through the whole of the volume there are interspersed magnificently drawn portraits of the men, good and bad, who have built or administered the institutions. Many of these portraits are fresh and sometimes surprising reinterpretations. For example, Hernán Cortés appears not as the conventional bloody destroyer but as a remarkably efficient builder and administrator. The vigorous and admirable picture of Juan de Zumárraga should help to erase Prescott's inaccurate but widely accepted estimate of the Bishop. Passing to the republican period, Santa Anna ceases to be a mere name in a confusing tangle of events and stands forth as a very human, although detestable villain.

In these character sketches and through the whole book, the reader is conscious of a fresh and sprightly style which sometimes verges on the colloquial. Occasionally one is tempted to think that Dr. Simpson's sentences are too breezy and casual to suit the essential seriousness of the theme; this is because we so rarely have the privilege of reading history in these days which is at the same time authoritative and readable.

The author makes discerning and abundant use of original sources; his well-chosen quotations range from the malicious but acute Thomas Gage to his own notes on conversations with landowners and peasants. In spite of the author's skill in weighing his evidence and his care in deducing conclusions from it, his book is bound to invite controversy. It is an inevitable result of his central aim, which is to interpret boldly and categorically. His forthright vindication of many aspects of the Spanish colonial administration of New Spain, for example, will seem daring and perhaps unscholarly to some. On many another theme, Professor Simpson breaks lances with traditional interpretations, but he does so with competent preparation and those who challenge him must polish their spears and forsake the ancient academic whine that the author is a mere facile journalist.

JOHN T. REID.

Duke University.

El balance del Cardenismo. By EDUARDO J. CORREA. (Mexico, D. F.,* 1941. Pp. 625. \$4.50.)

Although the title of this volume might seem to indicate that the author was attempting to present a fair evaluation of the Cárdenas

* Published by author: Avenida Juárez No. 30, México, D. F.

administration in Mexico, the reader soon receives the impression that the scales used are decidedly out of balance. Instead of an objective, neutral weighing of the facts and events the study has all the appearance of a lawyer's brief for the plaintiff or even a district attorney's for the prosecution. Not a single act or policy is conceded to be justified. According to the author's statement no president of Mexico has wished to appear more democratic than General Cárdenas but no one has employed more undemocratic methods nor exercised his powers in a more totalitarian form. Cárdenas has proved himself to be Mexico's "least effective executive and most effective agitator."

Although by no means over-friendly to the United States and its citizens, Señor Correa condemns unequivocally the expropriation policies of the Cárdenas government. He insists that the law of expropriation was unconstitutional and that if there had been in Mexico a Supreme Court of impartial justice the law would never have been sustained. In regard to the Herzog Commission's report, the author points out that Dr. Silva Herzog, formerly Mexican ambassador to Russia, was a Communist and had openly declared himself an enemy of the oil companies and yet he accepted the position of chairman of a committee of experts who were supposed to render an impartial judgment. The author's conclusion is that the expropriation of the oil industry was both illegal and immoral and the results were disastrous both for the workers and for the country.

The President is bitterly criticized for his communistic attitude in foreign policy. He antagonized both Germany and Italy and took a strong stand for the Spanish Republic against General Franco. A clean sweep was made of career diplomats and communistically inclined supporters were given their positions. All rules of protocol were violated in dealing with foreign envoys and a woman was named as Mexican minister to Colombia.

Internal problems were handled in an even worse manner. The attempt to settle the agrarian question was bungled badly and even the Laguna experiment was a complete fiasco. Religious persecution had never been more severe or successful than during the Cárdenas régime. The administration was determined to destroy the National University unless it accepted Marxist doctrines and by the end of 1939 it was completely subordinate to the Secretary and National Council of Education.

The reader finally comes to the conclusion that although Señor Correa has made a careful study of the Cárdenas administration and its achievements, in his opinion it was damned in advance by its communistic tendencies and the study is an effort to prove that what

was conceived in iniquity must end in disaster. The fault is that the proof is too perfect.

GRAHAM STUART.

Stanford University.

Reportage on Mexico. By VIRGINIA PREWETT. (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, Inc., 1941. Pp. 322. \$3.00.)

Approval of Miss Prewett's book depends upon whether the reader prefers his history straight, or mixed more or less judiciously with professionally worried journalism. The volume does not pretend to be anything like a thorough or serious history of Mexico—for the most part it is, as it should be, mere "reportage," and ought to be so judged. It bears all the earmarks, however, of modern alarmist journalism. As such, it could well be put in the same category as all the flood of newspaper correspondents' pulp-work which for ten years "viewed with alarm" the approach of the present European war. Whether such books were, or are now, worth their paper and binding, is questionable. But Miss Prewett is apparently one of a group of free-lance writers who seek to capitalize on the opportunity to apply a similar journalistic technique to countries not yet at war.

There are a number of notable chapters in the work. Chapter I, "Introduction to Mexico," follows the usual pattern as a geographical and economic approach, and to this reviewer it seemed interesting even if neither startling nor original. The two following chapters, which purport to be a sketch of Mexican history from 1519 to 1924, contain, as is probably inevitable in such an effort, a good many banal generalities, such as (p. 65): "The Revolution 1910-1924: *total, nada*, unless you count their paper constitution that had come alive a time or two to take a whack at the British and American oil interests." Chapter IV attempts an interpretation of Plutarco Elías Calles and his régime from 1924 to 1935, Calles being a little too glibly characterized as "Mexico's First Modern Man," without very convincing reasons.

The next three chapters, in somewhat involved fashion, deal with President Lázaro Cárdenas and include his struggle with British and American governments over the oil expropriations of 1938. Possibly because Miss Prewett shows a clearer comprehension of the matter, or perhaps because of a better perspective, these chapters seem to be among the best in the book. By contrast, Chapters VIII-X, chiefly consisting of a long, verbose build-up to the Mexican presidential campaign of 1940, are probably the most boresome. Chapter XI, "The Election: Mexico Turns Right," is a fine piece of reporting based on

personal experience, although it might have been better balanced if the author had known Mexican history more completely. Chapter XII, on the murder of Leon Trotsky, is also excellent journalism. The thirteenth and last chapter is the stock alarmist view of the dangers of "fifth-columnist" activities in Mexico, and of Mexico's weak defenses. The book has a short index and a fair end-paper map of Mexico.

To repeat, a judgment on Miss Prewett's work requires a number of qualifications. As history its value is negligible. As journalism its quality varies from chapter to chapter. One feels that a longer residence in Mexico, and perhaps a closer acquaintance with the portions of that country off the Laredo highway and outside of Mexico City, would have enabled the author to make more penetrating as well as more tolerant judgments, both of Spanish and Indian influences and background. But allowing for these shortcomings the volume, in the opinion of this reviewer, has enough transitory interest to make it worth reading.

RUFUS KAY WYLLOWS.

Arizona State College.

The Reciprocal Trade Agreement Program. By GRACE BECKETT. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1941. Pp. xv, 142. \$2.00.)

The author of this book states that her objective is "to state the aims, analyze the technique, and evaluate the effects of the reciprocal trade agreements program." Her interest in and treatment of the subject is economic, not historical. But the book is of value to the student of Hispanic-American history because of its accurate description, capable analysis, and unbiased evaluation of a program which is playing a major rôle in present-day relations between the United States and the other nations of the Western Hemisphere.

The idea of reciprocity as a means to increase foreign trade and, through foreign trade, domestic prosperity was advanced both in Congress and outside prior to 1934. Legislative attempts to transfer the idea into law failed until the Roosevelt administration, following the Democratic platform of 1932, sponsored the required legislation. In 1934, Congress passed an amendment to the Tariff Act of 1930 authorizing the President to enter into trade agreements with other governments. In order to negotiate these treaties power was granted to the President to modify existing tariff duties by not more than fifty per cent. The reciprocal trade agreements program, thus enacted into law as an emergency measure to last for three years, was, and still is, violently attacked on political, constitutional, and economic grounds.

Despite this opposition the legislation was reënacted in 1937 and again in 1940.

Dr. Beckett narrates briefly, but accurately, the economic and political background of the reciprocal trade agreements program. The text is confined to matter necessary for an economic study of the problem but adequate references are given, in footnotes and bibliography, to sources of further information and other points of view. The descriptions of the manner of negotiating, the matter covered, and the form of the treaties already entered into present the intricate and complicated problems involved in a clear and understandable style. Separate chapters list and analyze concessions obtained on exports from the United States and concessions granted on imports to the United States. The concluding chapter evaluates the effect of the program on the foreign trade of the United States. The author avoids both the extravagant claims of partisans of the program and the violent attacks of its opponents. Basing her conclusions on the evidence which she has presented and analyzed without bias, she writes:

One must reach the conclusion that not a great deal has been accomplished during the six years the program has been in effect. Pressing international problems have not been solved. . . .

It is apparent that the reciprocal trade agreements program has not produced any spectacular change in trade. The program has, however, affected substantially the foreign trade of the United States. . . . As a stop-loss device, the program has been important.

EDWARD J. McCARTHY.

Villanova College.

Chile: Land of Progress. By EARLE P. HANSON. (New York: Reynal & Hitchcock, 1941. Pp. xx, 201. \$1.75.)

This book might well be called Chile in Renaissance, for it describes the awakening of that Latin-American Republic from the feudal system of landed aristocracy and serfdom. The change taking place is not revolutionary but evolutionary. It is a change which has been gathering momentum ever since O'Higgins led Chile in gaining her independence and it may be a long time before the conservative elements will be won over to the modern concepts of equality of opportunity for all.

Hanson shows the various factors which are causing progress: education of the masses, establishment of compulsory health and accident insurance, minimum wage laws, fortification of trade unions, the establishment of agricultural colonies, improved housing conditions, and attention to child welfare. These comprise the Chilean new deal

which, led by a popular front government, is becoming increasingly effective.

As a background for these observations Hanson devoted most of the book to a very neat and concise description of the geography, history, culture, and economics of the nation. Essentially the work contains little new in the way of facts, but it is a synthesis of data heretofore published plus the author's able interpretation of these facts. He has added a spark here and there from his own experiences, and his deductions reflect a sympathetic understanding of Chilean problems.

GEORGE McCUTCHEON McBRIDE.

Education in the Territories and Outlying Possessions of the United States. By CHARLES F. REID. (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1941. Pp. xxv, 593. \$3.85.)

Officials responsible for the welfare of the people of the United States' territories and outlying possessions should profit by reading this book. Students of education in relation to surrounding culture and as an instrument of social and economic reconstruction may find in it a valuable study.

Interested for more than a decade in the educational problems of the territories and possessions, and in view of the lack of a "comprehensive and critical treatment" of education in these areas, Mr. Reid set himself to present such a treatment. He has done the job and skilfully fulfilled his purpose.

In this document—voluminous for the average doctoral dissertation—the author gives us a complete picture of the educational situation in the lands lying under the sovereignty of the United States. This picture is thrown against the historical, cultural, social, political, and economic background of each area, and in the light of this background the educational effort—with its achievements and failures—may be understood.

The author devotes one chapter to the situation of each of the territories and outlying possessions—Alaska, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, Guam, American Samoa, the Canal Zone, and the Virgin Islands. After a discussion of the history, population, and social conditions of each area, the whole of the fabric of the educational process is analyzed—from the administration, control, and finance of the educational system to health and vocational education. The factual account, based upon official reports and documents, is profusely illustrated and supported by tables and figures.

Of special significance is the critical appraisal that the author includes in every chapter and in one of the final chapters of his book.

Mr. Reid appraises the educational effort under American influence and leadership in terms of certain definite assumptions that he sets forth in the introduction of his work. Some of these assumptions are: that the federal government is responsible for the educational, social, and economic welfare of the peoples of the territories and outlying possessions; that participation of these peoples in the control of education is essential; that the indigenous culture which is vital should serve as an important basis for the educational program. Education, according to Mr. Reid, should adapt itself to local needs. With these assumptions the reviewer is in hearty agreement. Very few, if any, modern liberal educators would hold contrary views.

In so appraising the educational systems and presenting the necessary facts, Mr. Reid shows us where Uncle Sam has succeeded and where he has failed. On the positive side it is clearly seen that American influence and effort have resulted in: establishing the idea of public education, widening the scope of educational opportunity, increasing general literacy, improving health conditions, and partially gaining political maturity. There is, however, much room for improvement in each of these areas of civilized living.

On the negative side, Mr. Reid points out, the chief failure has been the "lack of an educational philosophy based on the cultural, economic, and social conditions and the peculiar needs and problems of each territory." Uncle Sam has not fared well—nor have the people of the possessions and territories—where and when he has attempted to improve the lot of peoples different from the Americans by imposing upon them the United States brand of education. This criticism is sound and well grounded. Mr. Reid sets forward certain proposals that would right the wrongs done if properly and intelligently carried out.

FRANCISCO S. CÉSPEDES.

Pan-American Union,
Washington, D. C.

Boundaries, Possessions and Conflicts in Central and North America and the Caribbean. By GORDON IRELAND. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1941. Pp. xiii, 432; 15 textual maps and diagrams, folding map of Middle America and the Caribbean in pocket at back. \$4.50.)

This work is very similar, in plan and execution, to the author's *Boundaries, Possessions and Conflicts in South America* (Cambridge, Mass., 1938) (Cf. THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, XVIII [August, 1938], 377-378). With that work, it completes "the

factual story of the boundary and territorial disputes of the western hemisphere." (For precision, "Central" America in the title should read "Middle" America; "Caribbean" should read "Caribbean islands non-contiguous to South America.") The data are in three groups: I. Disputes and adjustments (Sec. 1-16); II. Island possessions (Sec. 1-18); III. Existing treaty relations (Sec. 1-176). An appendix concerns "Marine boundaries." Part of section sixteen in the first group, and several sections in the second group, concern only the United States and European powers, but at least nine tenths of the book deals with Latin-American affairs. Discussion of disputes is preceded by a sketch of relevant aspects of the nations' history.

There is no bibliography, the index is spotty, and discussions of national history are far from perfect, but the author achieves his main purpose very well. His story is based on such published state papers as the diplomatic correspondence of the United States and Great Britain and similar materials where they exist for other countries, treaty collections, and specialized boundary items. Many periodical articles, largely from English-language law journals, and a few monographs by United States international publicists, are also cited. Lack of a bibliography and the volume of the footnotes make criticism difficult, but a check of random cases against the reviewer's supposedly complete card file reveals no important omission in those types of records. Private periodical and pamphlet literature by Latin Americans is poorly represented, but one must admit that it is less at variance with the official viewpoint than is likely to be true in the United States. The discussion is practically a chronological summary of the documents, case by case. It is rigidly legalistic, and coldly disinterested in underlying factors, justifications or truths.

The work is obviously a valuable guide to the enormous documentation of the successive diplomatic interchanges. Historians interested in synthesis or in determining factors of the diplomacy will be disappointed. A sagacious and penetrating reader might realize that the contestants were struggling over such non-abstract values as control of, and profit from, banana lands, mines, guano, sea ports, and navigable rivers, but even he would find little help in following such matters further. For instance, though the American, the Cuyamel, and the United Fruit companies receive passing mention, the first and last are not indexed and the second is indexed only as "Cuyamel"! The most sagacious reader would find no indication that the quality of the men in office affected success or failure, and barely a hint of the extent to which faulty maps were influential or of how United States or other outside pressure has been exerted.

One must not blame an author for failing to do something that he never intended to do, but it is a regrettable duty to point out the narrow character of a work that is, for its purpose, above serious reproach. General historians will find it valuable spade work as a reference for names, dates, and bibliography. In those fields it is authoritative.

ROLAND DENNIS HUSSEY.

University of California,
Los Angeles.

Hernán Cortés, Conqueror of Mexico. By SALVADOR DE MADARIAGA.
(New York: Macmillan, 1941. Pp. ix, 554. \$4.00.)

The enjoyment which we experience in reading this biography of Cortés is the same which we feel in listening anew to an old song which we know by memory. Conceived for the public at large, it does not offer any great new revelations; however, the author knows how to select from sources already classic in order to work up an enjoyable narrative of the life of the Extremaduran hero.

A relation at times slow, unduly prolix in places, as the author abandons himself to the pleasure of narrating, even when treating of secondary episodes in which Cortés played no part, as the Nicuesa-Hojeda expedition, as to which we hardly see that it "provides a number of clues to the understanding of later events in his adventurous career" (p. 49).

The tone of the book is appropriate, although it suffers from too frequent use of irony, which becomes somewhat wearing. Doubtless the author wishes to give agreeableness and freedom to his narration, and this causes him to prefer the sources most plentiful in picturesque details, which is a risky method. For example, he uses much from the account of Cervantes de Salazar, even to reproducing some from the innumerable discourses which this chronicler continually places in the mouths of persons, with regard to which Madariaga himself tells us that Cervantes de Salazar was "siempre dispuesto a mejorar con su elocuencia propia la de los personajes de su crónica" (p. 197, Spanish ed.) to improve it and to supply it, and it was not discourse alone which he invented.

Madariaga employs Bernal Díaz del Castillo also on a large scale, without penetrating sufficiently into his character, as he speaks of him as "fair-minded" and "well balanced" (p. 418). One could speak somewhat concerning this point, but we may pass on with re-

marking that elsewhere Madariaga notes that Bernal "never leaves out any shadow in his portrait of Cortés" (p. 150).

In general lines the abundant employment of chroniclers contemporary with the conquest is fitting, leaving at a minimum the use of later accounts—Alamán, Prescott, Orozco y Berra—which rarely appear in the notes when a doubtful point is under treatment.

The portrait which Madariaga gives us of Cortés is warmed by admiration and unreserved enthusiasm. Cortés is "the chief Spaniard, the most capable Spaniard of his day" (p. 480). Representative type of the Renaissance, man of arms and man of letters, great captain, great politician, great governor. Madariaga is pleased to see in him the characteristics of the god Quetzalcoatl, with whom the Indians were to identify him: eagle and serpent. ". . . though, eaglelike, he could fall upon his prey and overpower it, he preferred to coil himself like a crafty serpent round friend or foe" (p. 94). Continually he emphasizes his extraordinary faculty for managing persons, the capacity which he had for causing his decisions, made in the solitude of command, to seem to emanate from his companions. "With Cortés we feel, from the very beginning, a continuous interchange of influences going from the chief to the men and from the men to the chief; and that the small fleet and army is already a city" (p. 119).

A basic element in the character of Cortés is his profound religious faith, a faith ingenuous and simple, "the only naïve and simple feature in his highly sophisticated character" (p. 112). Cortés, a man of caution, foresight and high ability, is capable of tossing off all these qualities when religious faith offers itself as a means. His religious impulse was "the only one which succeeded in bursting through the steely armour of his self-control, and in obscuring and leading astray his otherwise clear vision of both immediate and far-off realities" (p. 204). Madariaga sees as peaks in the life of the conqueror two moments in which he affirms his faith: that in which he overthrows the god of war in the great temple, and the other, in which he humbles himself before the first Franciscans arrived in Mexico, "a deed in which the conqueror, the man of force, laid force at the foot of the spirit" (p. 428).

The faith of Cortés "was both the chief source of his strength and the main cause of his weakness" (p. 204). The conqueror was to encounter in his enterprise a man of faith as deeply rooted as his own, Moctezuma, in whose conduct upon encountering the Spaniards his profound religious feeling played a decisive part. "It so happened that Motecuquuma's chief passion was also his faith, and there is a curious parallel in the patterns of the Conqueror and the Conquered,

for in Moteçuçuma also we find his religious zeal as an odd feature which upsets the logic and harmony of his attitude" (p. 256).

For Madariaga the conflict between the two worlds, the Spanish and the Indian, comes to be summed up in this opposition between two distinct faiths, of which the stronger is the Spanish, which therefore triumphs. The apparently ambiguous conduct of Moctezuma is explained in the belief of the sovereign in the principle that all his calamities were ordained by the gods, and in the subsequent collapse of this elaborate psychological structure when he saw Cortés himself attacking these idols. Moctezuma was neither a luckless, weak king, nor yet a traitor; "he was the archpriest of a magic religion dealing with events as expediently as he and his colleagues in the service of the gods saw fit" (p. 334).

Madariaga well sees the inevitability of the conflict, and observes on numerous occasions that Cortés "tenía la versión instintiva de todo hombre superior a hacer más daño que el estricto indispensable en cada caso" (p. 98, Spanish ed.). But all his sympathies are with the Spaniards, and he always finds justification for the acts of cruelty by Cortés: when he orders the hands of the Tlascalan spies amputated, with regard to Cholula, on the occasion of the killing of Cuauhtémoc. He even justifies the massacre ordered by Alvarado in the absence of Cortés: "it is obvious that Alvarado not merely must be excused as having *imagined* that there was a conspiracy, but was right in *thinking* that there was a danger and a most urgent one" (p. 526).

Madariaga is altogether sincere and consistent in his partiality. He does not feel sympathy for the Aztecs, even though he admires their heroism, symbolized in that of Cuauhtémoc, whom he praises: "In Cuauhtémoc the Mexicans had found a leader of indomitable spirit, but also of a military intelligence not unworthy of that of his enemy. The defence of Mexico against the Spaniards was a masterpiece of prodigious valour and devotion, of dogged perseverance, of ever reborn initiative and adaptability to new circumstances, of technical skill, tactical ability and unsurpassed generalship" (p. 376).

Although Madariaga may not develop it, perhaps, sufficiently, he is well aware of the most estimable aspect of Cortés, the conqueror conquered. So he tells us, after narrating the destruction and taking of the Aztec capital: "Cortés was not the man to rejoice in a triumph bought at such a heavy price; on the night of his second conquest of Mexico, he must have dreamt wistfully of that of his first conquest, when, in the splendour of Moteçuçuma's pageantry and in clouds of copal incense, he had impersonated Quetzalcoatl" (p. 395).

Here abides the major merit of Cortés, in the wistful retrospection

of the first march upon Mexico, in his dream of the peaceful annexation of the dominions of Moctezuma to those of Charles V. And in all the labor of discovering, colonizing, and governing which he carried through after the subjugation of Tenochtitlán: "even if Cortés had not conquered Mexico, he would have a place in history as the man who organized the mapping out of the Pacific coast from Tehuantepec to California" (p. 472).

It is regrettable that Madariaga should have thought it appropriate to conclude his book with what we may call "consideraciones inactuales" concerning the attitude of Mexicans in regard to Cortés. By so doing he irritates old wounds by now in a fair way to becoming healed. He adopts an attitude as vehement, as excited, as that which he censures. The book would gain much if it were to be terminated otherwise, if some phrases should be removed concerning the tenor of which we prefer not to insist, as it would rekindle old and painful polemics, as inconsequential as inappropriate. Things have changed in Mexico more rapidly than Señor Madariaga thinks, and only a matter of time is required in order that there may come to fruition the ideas concerning Cortés which today are evident in the spirit of many Mexicans.

RAMÓN IGLESIAS.

México, D. F.

Landa's Relación de las Cosas de Yucatán. A translation edited with notes by ALFRED M. TOZZER. [Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University. Vol. XVIII.] (Cambridge: Peabody Museum of American Archeology and Ethnology, 1941. Pp. 394. Cloth, \$6.25; paper, \$4.75.)

The Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology of Harvard University has recently published an English translation of Bishop Diego de Landa's sixteenth-century *Relación de las Cosas de Yucatán*, edited and elaborately annotated by Dr. Alfred M. Tozzer of the University's Department of Anthropology.

Landa's *Relation* is the prime contemporary source for the study of Maya archaeology and history, and the present work, in addition to the scholarly translation of the Spanish text, also contains: (1) the most complete and illuminative series of notes this reviewer has ever examined; (2) four well-chosen and pertinent appendices drawn from other contemporary Spanish and Indian sources; (3) an invaluable syllabus, based upon an exhaustive study of the relation which is, in effect, a detailed, topical table of contents, that, for the special student, will prove as useful as the text and notes; (4) an adequate bibliog-

raphy; (5) a concordance of the present edition with the text of the original Landa manuscript and the seven previously published editions (two combined French and Spanish, four Spanish, and one English); (6) a page index to the 1154 notes; and (7) an excellent, usable index.

The publication of this monumental work on the primary source for the study of Maya archaeology and history constitutes one of the most important contributions to the literature of this field.

Landa reached Yucatán in 1549, only seven years after the Spanish conquest, and his high ecclesiastical offices, first as Provincial of the Franciscan Order in Yucatán (1561), and later as second bishop of that diocese (1573), brought him into intimate contact with the natives, two of whom—Gaspar Antonio Chí, a Xiu on his mother's side, and Juan Cocom, the former lord of Sotuta, both scions of former ruling houses of the Peninsula, being numbered among his principal informants. Knowledge of the old ways, the old religion, was still a vivid living reality in the minds of his informants, and of these rich, first-hand, and intimately informed sources, Landa, in his zealotry to know the ancient culture, especially the ancient religion so that he might destroy it, drank deeply.

Landa's *Relación de las Cosas de Yucatán* is the foundation upon which rests the modern study of Maya archaeology. It stands in the same fundamental relation to the Maya field as does the *Historia General de las Cosas de la Nueva España* of Father Bernardino de Sahagún to the Aztec field. The quality of the information is the same in both, each being based upon information derived from well-informed individuals of the ruling caste, who had reached adult years before the Spanish conquest. The difference between Sahagún and Landa, indeed, is one of degree rather than of quality. Sahagún, as his title states, writes "a general history of the things of New Spain," whereas Landa composes a "relation," a "report of the things of Yucatán." Each remains the Bible, so to speak, in its particular field.

A comparison of the book reviewed here with the only other English edition of Landa—that published by William Gates in 1937—will show that the latter suffers in comparison. Beautiful, hand-colored illustrations, Whatman hand-made paper, the distinguished type of the Gates' edition, do not compensate for the infinitely greater range and scholarship of Tozzer's notes, his better bibliography and index, and his superlative syllabus—a feature entirely lacking in the Gates' edition. Indeed, this reviewer believes the Gates' edition surpasses Tozzer's in but one respect—namely in the style of the English translation. Gates, whose translation is somewhat free, has attempted, and with considerable success, to imitate the sixteenth-century flavor of

the original Spanish. Tozzer's translation, however, which "is the work of many hands," (p. ix) is more accurate. There are several glaring errors in Gates' first edition, as for example, his translation of the Spanish word *adelantado* (the title conferred upon Francisco de Montejo, the conqueror of Yucatán) by the English word *admiral*, an actual error, giving an entirely false idea of Montejo's position, which had nothing to do with the sea; Gates, this reviewer believes, better renders the obsolete and quaint phraseology of the original than Tozzer, though on the whole Gates' translation is less accurate.

It is in the many and vitally important notes, however, where Tozzer's broad grasp and penetrating knowledge of his subject is most clearly demonstrated. Archaeological and historical minutiae are fitted into the fabric of the whole, each in its appropriate place, in such a way that Landa's original relation is interpreted and illuminated for us by the light of modern scientific research and able higher criticism, indeed is expanded until it becomes a veritable Manual of Maya Archaeology.

Great care has been expended upon the printing and make-up of the book, and it is singularly free from typographical errors. All of Landa's original illustrations are reproduced: (1) a Maya ax; (2) the hieroglyphs for the 20 Maya days; (3) the hieroglyphs for the 4 Maya year-bearers; (4) the hieroglyph for the first day of the *tzolkin* or sacred year of 260 days; (5) the hieroglyphs for the 19 divisions or months of the Maya year; (6) the katun-wheel, or round of the 13 katuns or 7200-day periods; (7) the hieroglyphs of the so-called "Landa alphabet" with three examples of their use; (8) plan of the great pyramid at Izamal; (9) plan of the principal quadrangle at Tihoo (the modern Mérida); (10) plan of the pyramid and temple of Kukulcan (now called the Castillo) at Chichén Itzá; (11) map of Yucatán; (12) another map of Yucatán. In addition to the foregoing, a portrait of Landa, taken from an early copy in oil, made from the probable original in the Cathedral at Mérida, is used as a frontispiece, and the book concludes with a map of Yucatán showing the location of places mentioned in the text.

Thanks are due to the author, the authorities of Harvard University, and the American Council of Learned Societies which coöperated in the publication of this book in having made available such a fundamental contribution to the subject of Middle American Archaeology.

SYLVANUS G. MORLEY.

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Washington, D. C.

Coronado's Quest: The Discovery of the Southwestern States. By A. GROVE DAY. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: The University of California Press, 1940. Pp. xviii, 418. \$2.50.)

The year 1940 marked the four hundredth anniversary of the inception of the expedition of Francisco Vásquez de Coronado, who explored a great part of western Mexico and a much greater part of what is now the United States. The expedition, as is well known, was inspired by the stories of Cabeza de Vaca and his companions, fresh from their adventures in the vast and mysterious north, and by the hopes of finding other kingdoms such as Cortés had found in Mexico. Supported by Viceroy Mendoza and high government officials, Coronado and his friends brought together a large force of men, properly equipped and provisioned. They set out from Compostela in February, 1540, and spent two years on their glorious and disillusioning adventure.

Mr. Day, in this book, has sought to give a biography of Coronado, and he has combed the sources very well, but his account is in reality the story of the Coronado expedition. The author describes briefly the Northern Mystery, the career of Coronado in Spain, his arrival in Mexico with Mendoza in 1535, and his activities till he was appointed as commander of the great northern expedition on January 6, 1540. Hereupon follows the story of what befell Coronado and his army during the next two years, which makes up the bulk of the volume—about 225 pages—and then follows a chapter on Coronado's last years, from his return in 1542 till his death in 1554.

It is evident that *Coronado's Quest* has been written with care and zeal. The story is well organized, clearly and forcefully presented, and the numerous footnotes and bibliography give evidence of painstaking labor.

There are, however, a number of observations which seem pertinent in a review of this book. The author maintains that Fray Marcos de Niza never saw Zuñi; in fact, that he probably never crossed the Arizona-Mexico border, this in spite of the overwhelming weight of historical evidence to the contrary. In identifying the Coronado trail, the author seems on fairly sure ground in so far as he follows the Mexican studies of Carl Sauer, but when he leaves the San Pedro valley and embarks on the route to Zuñi, he obviously has no clear idea of the exact trail. Similarly, with regard to Coronado's whereabouts on the Texas plains, he is obviously unfamiliar with the region and does not seem to recognize the importance of recent studies on the identification of Coronado's route there.

Finally, the documentary materials in the last chapter relating to

Coronado's trial, and certain other passages, were clearly "obtained" from the materials, then in manuscript, prepared by Agapito Rey and this reviewer, and published under the title, *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition, 1540-1542*. No acknowledgment is made of the use of this material, obtained at great expense from the Archives of the Indies at Seville and of which translations were made only after months of labor, but Mr. Day cites the original documents in Seville with complete boldness and disregard of scholarly courtesy.

Some slips have been noted, such as citing F. W. Hodge and T. H. Lewis, *Spanish Explorers in the Southern United States*, as Hodge and Hays (p. 353), which is again listed incorrectly (on p. 391).

The definitive work on Coronado still remains to be written.

GEORGE P. HAMMOND.

The University of New Mexico.

The Voyages and Colonising Enterprises of Sir Humphrey Gilbert.

Introduction and notes by DAVID BEERS QUINN. (London: Published by Bernard Quaritch, Ltd., for the Hakluyt Society, 1940. No. I. 2 vols. Second series, No. LXXXIII and No. LXXXIV. Pp. xxix, 238; II, xiii, 239-534. \$10.80.)

Among the recent issues of the Hakluyt Society are two works of more than ordinary interest to students of American history. The first of these, Professor E. G. R. Taylor's *Writings and Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts* (2 vols., 1935), brought within convenient compass a mass of widely scattered materials pertaining to the ideas and efforts of two men whose influence outranked all others in the shaping of the early English program of colonial expansion. To this has now been added Dr. Quinn's collection of one hundred forty-two documents and fragments containing the known record of the voyages and colonizing interests of Sir Humphrey Gilbert. The two collections, with only occasional duplication, are complementary, and on the historian's shelf must be given place alongside such other modern studies as J. A. Williamson's *Sir John Hawkins* and the *Age of Drake*, A. P. Newton's *European Nations in the West Indies*, G. B. Parks' *Richard Hakluyt and the English Voyages*, Taylor's *Tudor Geography* and *Late Tudor and Early Stuart Geography*, or Sir William Foster's *England's Quest of Eastern Trade*. So placed, these collections round out an impressive body of relatively recent historical literature, radically altering at certain points traditional notions of Elizabethan adventure, and for which, significantly, we are primarily indebted to British rather than American scholarship.

Many of the documents included by Dr. Quinn are familiar. Sir George Peckham's *True Reporte* of 1583 has long been a standard source, consulted in the original where reasonably complete libraries were within reach, and in their absence, by reference to the somewhat abbreviated form Hakluyt gave the document in his *Voyages*. The same is to be said of Gilbert's own *Discourse of a Discoverie for a New Passage to Cataia*. Christopher Carleill's "Briefe and Summary Discourse" and Edward Hayes' narrative of Gilbert's last expedition are both taken from Hakluyt. To such items, however, have been added others ferreted out in widely scattered archival and manuscript collections, a goodly number of them here published for the first time. Even those scholars residing in the British Isles within easy reach of such sources as the state papers will find themselves indebted to Dr. Quinn for the convenience with which the record may now be consulted. But it is not the readiness with which any new, or old, item may be studied that constitutes the principal value of this collection. Like Professor Taylor's work on the Hakluyts, its real value lies in the fact that here in one place is the known record, both old and new. For that record at best is incomplete and fragmentary, the reading of any one part of it thus made doubly dependent on the reading of all others.

Dr. Quinn has brought to his efforts editorial competence and a scholarly perception in the preparation of a lengthy historical introduction. The study emphasizes anew the importance of Irish schemes of colonization to the genesis of the American venture. The conclusions regarding the geographical direction of Sir Humphrey's interest are especially significant. No evidence is found that after 1577 he contemplated any expedition to America above 50° N., and the suggestion is that the unhappy experiences of Frobisher and Lok cured him of any desire to attempt the northwest passage. His purpose in 1578 remains shrouded in considerable mystery, but Mr. Quinn considers the most plausible story to be that of a purpose of establishing a colony fairly near the West Indies, one that might, among other things, be used as a base against the Spaniards. The evidence indicates that Gilbert, though less interested in Spanish plunder than at first, remained primarily concerned with thoughts for a southern venture, even in the preparations for his last voyage. It is in this light that the author reads Hayes' report of Gilbert's statement on the way home, and just before his tragic death, that "this voyage had wonne his heart from the South, and that he was now become a Northerne man altogether."

WESLEY FRANK CRAVEN.

New York University.

Nóbrega: O primeiro Jesuita do Brasil. By JOSÉ MARIZ DE MORAES. [Separata da *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro.*] (Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional, 1940. Pp. 278.)

Dr. Mariz was well qualified to write this biography, and took his work seriously. As he indicates in his introduction, he spent more than ten years studying Jesuit psychology *in vivo*.

The volume has good organization and balance, with enough background to bring out Manoel da Nóbrega's career in proper perspective. The author considers the rise of the Society of Jesus and discusses its motivating principles. He writes admiringly of João III of Portugal, the "colonizer-king," who planned nobly for Brazil, and of Thomé de Sousa and Mem de Sá, who strove to build well the foundations of the colony. He describes with understanding the cultural status of the aborigines, emphasizing the characteristics which constituted the Jesuits' most serious problems.

Manoel da Nóbrega, the "Don Quixote of Jesus," was the son of Baltazar da Nóbrega, high court judge of Portugal, and was the nephew of a lord chancellor of the kingdom. A contemporary of Loyola, Nóbrega in November, 1544, joined the Society of Jesus with the "bitter happiness of the Savior embracing the cross" (p. 28). His chief fields of missionary activity were Bahia and São Paulo. Anchieta, who receives considerable attention in the book, was closely associated with him in much of his work.

On the whole, the Jesuits planned and labored wisely. Their first rules for the aborigines, as prerequisites to embracing the Christian faith, were the abandonment of cannibalism and of polygyny. Later, the wearing of clothes was added, since cotton was plentiful. But more serious were the problems of segregating the converted natives from their pagan fellows and from the bad examples set by the white Christians, and of protecting them and the wild aborigines from enslavement. In this connection Dr. Mariz points out a little-known fact—that the early accounts often refer to the aborigines as *negros* (blacks), causing historians to confuse them with slaves brought from Africa (p. 80).

The Jesuits were, naturally, disturbed by the entrenchment of the French Protestants on the Brazilian coast, and Nóbrega was present when Mem de Sá drove them out, and when the city of Rio de Janeiro was founded. Here, in Rio, Nóbrega spent the last three years of his life.

Serafim Leite, the distinguished Jesuit historian, contributes a brief preface to Dr. Mariz's work. The volume is written with clarity, is carefully documented, and is well supplied with explanatory notes.

The bibliography contains more than 300 items, among them writings of Anchieta and Nóbrega. But the book contains many typographical errors; it lacks an analytical index; and is printed on such poor paper as to make reading it rather hard on the eyes.

However, José Mariz de Moraes's biography of Nóbrega is sound and scholarly and will receive a hearty welcome from students of Brazilian history.

MARY WILHELMINE WILLIAMS.

Goucher College.

Luiz Figueira a sua vida heróica e a sua obra literária. By SERAFIM LEITE. (Lisboa : Agência Geral das Colónias, 1940. Pp. 251.)

Luiz Figueira, author of the now classic *Arte da Língua Brasílica*, first published in or shortly after 1621, belongs to the band of pioneer Jesuits whose achievements contributed so greatly to the development of North Brazil. Born in Portugal in 1574 or 1575, educated at the University of Évora, Figueira arrived in Baía in 1602. Five years later, he and Father Francisco Pinto, hopeful of reaching Maranhão, headed an expedition as far as the Ibiapaba Mountains. Pinto's tragic death caused his companion to abandon the venture, and he returned to Pernambuco. Figueira remained here during 1608-1622. In the latter year, with the authorization of his superiors, he left for Maranhão to supervise Jesuit activities in that area. He visited Pará and the Xingu and Tocantins rivers in 1636. Returning to Pará in the same year, he found it necessary to sail for Lisbon. Matters of religious administration demanded his presence in Portugal. Upon the successful conclusion of his mission, he left once more for Brazil. Figueira, however, never reached his destination. Shipwrecked off the Brazilian coast in 1642, he was thrown onto the island of Marajó and subsequently killed by the Indians. Nearly three hundred years later, his biographer pays him a fitting tribute (p. 11): "Não foram só as facilidades e riquezas da terra que criaram o Brasil. Foram, sobretudo, as contradições, que às vezes chegam ao martírio, que enraizaram no coração do Brasil a civilização cristã. A vida do P. Luiz Figueira é a de um desses heróis, portugueses e santos, que ajudaram a criar o Brasil."

The Rev. Dr. Leite, widely known to historians for his *História da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil*, the first two volumes of which appeared in Lisbon in 1938, has published a work which students of Brazilian history will welcome. Only a brief 86 pages are devoted to this, the first life of Luiz Figueira that has even been printed; but (in fairness to the author) it ought to be pointed out that the information on the

Jesuit martyr is of the barest sort. Dr. Leite is to be congratulated warmly on what he has done. Written with his usual thoroughness, it is the result of extensive research in Rome, where he had access to the Jesuit Archives, in Portugal, and in Brazil. The book is an excellent piece of historical writing which honors Dr. Leite's high sense of scholarship.

The biography of Figueira is followed by ten annotated documents, those from the Jesuit Archives in Rome being hitherto unpublished. A reduced reproduction of an anonymous Jesuit map of the vice-province of Maranhão as it was in 1753 is also given. This second part of the study is exceedingly useful. It will be read by those who desire a fuller account of some of the events connected with Figueira's life.

During the past few years, Dr. Leite has been adding constantly to the historical literature on the activities of the Jesuits in Brazil. We can only wish many more books from his pen and a long life for his labors.

MANOEL S. CARDOZO.

The Catholic University of America.

The Plains Indians and New Mexico, 1751-1778, A Collection of Documents Illustrative of the History of the Eastern Frontier of New Mexico. By ALFRED BARNABY THOMAS. [Coronado Cuarto Centennial Publication, 1540-1940. Vol. XI.] (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1940. Pp. xv, 232. Bibliography and Index. \$3.50.)

When Professor Thomas was graduated from the University of California, he was identified for a time as a promising member of the Bolton School of Historians. Since then he has produced a list of scholarly books that have established him as an authority on the Spanish Southwest.

His latest book, exclusive of index and bibliography, includes 162 pages of documents discovered by the industry of Professor Thomas in Spanish archives, and translated by him for inclusion in this work. These documents relate to successive periods and phases of the subject.

When the Spanish occupied New Mexico, they faced the problem of controlling the Pueblo Indians and, at the same time, defending the province from the attacks of the Plains Indians. From the first, says Professor Thomas, the practice of the European settlers of distributing themselves throughout the area on isolated haciendas weakened their defensive capacity; and the Spanish policy of refusing to place guns in the hands of the Pueblos added nothing to the capacity of those Indians to ward off their historic Plains enemies.

These enemies, by which Professor Thomas refers principally to the Comanches, presented a continuing problem to the Mexicans, for they made a practice of traveling in bodies into New Mexico on trading and other peaceful missions that often developed into hostilities between them and the Indians they found there. The disorders that resulted invoked the concern of the Mexican government that from time to time installed administrative officials in New Mexico who were required to report the measures they had taken to restore peace, and the results achieved. These official reports resulted in the deposit of the documents translated by Professor Thomas and published in this book.

The first division he treats under the title of "The Frontier policy of Governor Don Thomas Vélez Cachupin," which incorporates a long list of documents, reports of operations against the Comanche Indians, and results of the Mexican policy of government. This phase of the book extends from page 61 to 156, and includes a number of interesting accounts. One of these is a *Report* by Thomas Vélez Cachupin of his campaign, accompanied by a number of letters of congratulation extoling his successes in the most extravagant terms. There is also a certified copy of a decree by the senior auditor, reciting a number of military operations including an attack on Galisteo by the Comanches, which was repulsed by the Indians of that village aided by ten soldiers. There are numerous accounts of the attendance of the Indians at fairs at Taos, where the visiting Indians were accustomed with hides to ransom their kinsmen.

"The Frontier Policy of Governor Don Pedro Fermín de Mendieta" covers the remainder of the text from page 157 to 213. This is made up of a series of official reports relating to the movements of the Comanche Indians, conditions in New Mexico, Indian invasions, and operations in and about Santa Fe, mainly through 1774 and 1775, and deals with the subject of intrusive English traders, as well as the Comanche Indians.

Professor Thomas precedes the frontier documents with an introduction of fifty-nine pages, which is a most interesting and readable narrative, carrying forward the development of his subject as extracted from his succeeding Spanish documents. This treatment will please the reader, who finds there the whole story developed in succinct, readable form, with the documents referred to within easy reach. One not already well versed in this phase of Southwestern history will find the book opening to him a new world of interest.

GRANT FOREMAN.

Muskogee, Oklahoma.

La independencia mexicana y la prensa insurgente. By J. M. MIGUEL Y VERGÉS. (Mexico City: El Colegio de México, 1941. Pp. 344. \$8.00 m/n; \$1.75 U. S.)

In this age of emphasis on propaganda and propaganda techniques this excellent case study from the Mexican War for Independence should be of particular interest. It also throws new light on one of the effective forces for revolution. The author has carefully collected information on editors, founders, and printers of the insurgent press; and he has given us adequate material for the appreciation of the press as a powerful agency and a motivating force in directing the thought of the revolution.

Fifteen periodicals have been studied. Occasionally their dates overlapped, but at times there were unbridged gaps, notably between 1815-1817. These ephemeral periodicals which emerged and disappeared with the vicissitudes of war maintained a bond of unity in their singleness of purpose. Complete collections have been preserved in some cases, there are only a few extant copies of some, and others have been hopelessly lost. In the latter case the author has relied upon documentary evidence and reprints.

The complete disappearance of a few and the partial disappearance of others indicate in part how effectively the combined efforts of the church and state succeeded in destroying the evidence of revolutionary thought. There were repeated decrees, warnings, and manifestoes issued by the authorities against this new revolutionary agency. But the editor of the *Ilustrador Americano* pointed out how ridiculous it was to issue orders to the hangman to burn these revolutionary documents, since "la verdad es incombustible."

There were physical difficulties to overcome as well as political; and one editor, Dr. José María Cos, laboriously carved his type out of wood, an indication of a spirited devotion to a cause but with only moderate technical success (*cf.* facsimile of the *Ilustrador Nacional*, p. 73). In another instance the type was smuggled out of Mexico City in baskets carefully concealed in the folds of the skirts worn by the helpful wives of the revolutionists.

The plan of the author, after giving an informative introduction, has been to take up the periodicals in chronological order. Each one is given an historical introduction, dealing with its founders, editors, and contributors; a facsimile of a front page is given for one issue of each; and finally, one or more reprints of articles, proclamations, or news items are given to illustrate the views and policies of the revolutionary press.

El Despertador Americano fittingly indicates the awakening of America, and in New Spain, America meant Mexico. This first example of a free press in Mexico stirred the people out of their lethargy. The second, *Ilustrador Nacional*, tried to mould the revolutionists into national unity. Most of the periodicals were devoted to the propagation of revolutionary doctrines, but there were others which were primarily official organs containing war communiques, official orders, and brief accounts of events—such was the *Gaceta del Gobierno Provisional Mexicano de las Provincias del Poniente* (1817).

Altogether the author has made a valuable contribution to the study of the independence movement in Mexico, and his work may also serve as a guide to further study. The book contains adequate footnote references and a bibliography, and particularly noteworthy in a Mexican work is the presence of an index of proper names and a table of contents, the latter at the end of the volume in the form of an index to periodicals.

JOHN RYDJORD.

University of Wichita.

Some Newly Discovered Poems and Pamphlets of J. J. Fernández de Lizardi (El Pensador Mexicano). Prepared by the personnel of the Works Progress Administration. A. Yedidia, supervisor. Paul Radin, editor. [Occasional Papers, Mexican History Series, No. 1.] (San Francisco: California State Library, Sutro Branch, 1939. Pp. 78.)

An Annotated Bibliography of the Poems and Pamphlets of J. J. Fernández de Lizardi: the First and Second Periods (1808-1823). Edited with an introduction and notes by Paul Radin. [Occasional Papers, Mexican History Series, No. 2, Part I in 2.] (San Francisco: California State Library, Sutro Branch, 1940. Pp. 313. \$1.00.)

The Opponents and Friends of Lizardi. Edited with an introduction by PAUL RADIN. [Occasional Papers, Mexican History Series, No. 2, Part II.] (San Francisco: California State Library, Sutro Branch, 1939. Pp. 134. \$0.75.)

In his introduction to No. 1 of the Mexican History Series, the editor adroitly reconstructs, in part, the history of these Lizardi items. Upon the death of *El Pensador Mexicano*, Alejandro Valdés, one of Lizardi's publishers, presumably added to his own stock recently acquired personal copies of the author's works. Some time later the Valdés holdings came into possession of Francisco Abadiano, another

publisher. According to some "indications" Adolph Heinrich Joseph Sutro made considerable purchases from Abadiano. The editor succinctly deals with Lizardi's conduct during the revolutionary years 1810-1812; the incipient character of his prose style; and Lizardi as publisher, together with a listing of the ten forms his imprint took. The "Bibliography" consists of four divisions: 1, "Poems and Prose Dialogues previously unknown to Bibliographers," forty-one entries with annotations; 2, "Poems and Prose Dialogues previously known but not seen," nine items; 3, "Rare Periodicals," four titles; 4, "Miscellaneous," three entries of which two are by a Lizardi opponent and are entitled *Carrera militar y literaria del Pensador Mexicano (Cartas primera y segunda)*. The "letters" are also two of the nine "Poems and Pamphlets Reprinted." *El Crítico y el Poeta* the only unknown piece of Lizardi verse discovered in the Sutro Collection is also reprinted.

Mexican History Series No. 2 was inevitably a zealous editor's next project in view of the cache of sources wherein he found himself. As the preface states this number in all its parts "is an attempt to reassess the lifework of the great Mexican writer and thinker in the light of all material—old and new— . . . to be found in the Sutro Collection." Concisely, it emends and supplements the contributions of three Lizardi scholars, notably, Luis González Obregón, Nicolás Rangel, and Joseph Rea Spell.

Criticisms adverse and favorable appear throughout under the following headings: Lizardi's Life (1776-1812); Bibliography (1808-1811); Lizardi's Life (1813-1819); Bibliography (1813-1819); Lizardi's Philosophy of Life (1817-1819); Lizardi's Life and Ideas (1820-1823). And reprinted completely or in extract are Lizardiana epitomizing the several phases of his literary and political career.

It is only necessary here to mention several of the significant points clarified or deduced by the editor; which sum up finally to an extraordinarily constructive work. Contrary to previous biographers, notably Spell, Lizardi had done considerable writing before publication of the *Polaca* in 1808. Interpretations of Lizardi cannot afford to ignore the fact that he was "a typical impoverished member of the creole class." Lizardi's "liberal ideas" were matured, contrary to Spell, before "he started his literary career." Two dialogues antedate the publication of *La Visita a la Condesa de la Unión* (March 17, 1812) which Spell dates as the beginning of Lizardi as a prose writer. These editorial references are not meant as deliberate criticisms of an excellent work but as facts which newly discovered evidence has laid bare.

Among the numerous bibliographical details herein furnished, two

especial features are the location symbols for copies in other libraries; and a listing of the essays in the several issues of *El Pensador Mexicano*. One regret only can be expressed: the fact that this project was suspended before the concluding part of this critical bibliography could be laid in press.

Part II of the Mexican Series is a sequel to Part I. In as much as Lizardi wrote chiefly on controversial issues of the day, he made enemies, drew their fire, and returned it. Moreover, he had "liberal" colleagues, almost as talented as he with the pen, who stood steadfastly by him. In that it points to voluminous sources for a study of Lizardi from this angle, this No. 2, part II emphasizes again the unique richness of the Sutro Collection.

Lizardi's opponents may be divided into three groups. The first, in which were Mariano Soto, and *El Papista* (Fray Manuel Mercadillo?), was identified with the Church and the ruling government clique. The members of the second, ably led by José María Aza, and *El apreciador de los verdaderos servicios*, were of the Church and politically conservative but expressed themselves in individual fashion. Moreover, there were "liberals" jealous of Lizardi. And apart from all these were "the cynics and ivory-tower intellectuals."

Among all his friends, who outnumbered his outspoken enemies, no two were more stouthearted and gifted than Pablo Villavicencio and Rafael Dávila. Their pamphleteering activities are intentionally neglected here because of special monographs which were in preparation concerning them.

To summarize and to point out the prominent landmarks was, in the reviewer's opinion, the most satisfactory manner in which to stress the import of this bibliographical offering edited by an intensely enthusiastic but acutely critical scholar.

GUSTAVE A. NUERMBERGER.

Duke University Library.

Contribución a la historia de Centroamérica (Monografías documentales). By SOFONÍAS SALVATIERRA. (Managua: Tip. Progreso, 1939. 2 vols. Pp. 568, 524. \$5.00.)

This is the first extensive history written by a Nicaraguan that has appeared since the works of Dr. Tomás Ayon and Dr. José Dolores Gámez. The author, Sofonías Salvatierra, during a period of political exile from his native country, spent some six months examining documents in the Archive of the Indies. Naturally, this period only permitted the study of a limited portion of the hundreds of legajos relating to Central America and Nicaragua. As a consequence, some of the

essays contain remarkable detail since many pertinent records were consulted. Others are very sketchy.

In the introduction, Señor Salvatierra gives an analysis of the defects and errors of historical writing in Hispanic America and especially in Central America. He points out the dependence on tradition, the exaggerated panegyrics and the poisonous diatribes which have been employed so generally. Political passion and political influence have too often given partisan color to historical works. It has been customary to copy what others say and to make no reference to source documents. Hence, the author postulates the necessity of utilizing the archives and libraries of Spain, England, the United States, and the Central American Republics in order to present a correct account of Central American history. He has endeavored to follow his precepts and in so doing has produced the two interesting volumes.

The first volume begins with a lengthy account of La Rábida and Columbus which is based largely on the work of Padre Ángel Ortega in his *La Rábida* (Seville, 1925). This is followed by a briefer survey of the Casa de la Contratación and the early voyages of discovery carried out under its auspices. More than half the volume is devoted to the history of Nicaragua, written largely from the sources in the Archive of the Indies, but with some reference to most of the earlier historians. The explorations of Gil González are described. Perhaps the most valuable contribution, however, is the essay on the governors and bishops of Nicaragua during the Colony and notes relating to the ancient province. Interesting details of the activities of these leading characters of the colonial period and a most complete list of them are presented. In the extensive essay on the Mosquito Coast, the major theme is the continued effort of England to occupy and dominate that region. The volume concludes with a brief study of the Interoceanic Canal.

Volume two comprises first a number of brief studies relating to Central America in general. Some of the titles are as follows: The Council of the Indies, the Audiencia, forts, *ayuntamientos*, tithes, commerce, hospitals, Indian customs, and colonial revenues. Longer accounts are presented dealing with the Sociedad Económica de Amigos del País, the founding of the University of Guatemala, Central America and the Cortes de Cádiz, the preliminary phases of the movement for independence and its final bloodless achievement. A concluding chapter is entitled "The Last Five Captains General." There is neither a bibliography nor a list of legajos examined. The rather sketchy notes give references to some sixty-five legajos from the Archive of the Indies but there is no indication of the use of materials

from either Madrid or Simancas. Likewise, the notes cite most of the important histories relating to Central America. The style is readable, but unfortunately there is a considerable number of typographical errors. The author makes many extensive quotations from the documents in Spain but gives inadequate indication of their location. Señor Salvatierra has made a worthy contribution to the historiography of Central America and Nicaragua.

Roscoe R. Hill.

The National Archives,
Washington, D. C.

International Executive Agreements. Democratic Procedure under the Constitution of the United States. By WALLACE MCCLURE. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1941. Pp. xxii, 449. \$4.75.)

This scholarly and timely study is a remarkable addition to the literature pertaining to constructive examination of the American treaty making practice. There will be many disagreements with both the fundamental assumptions and conclusions of the author as he has broken with many precedents held dear by the orthodox. In his effort to prove his interesting thesis that executive agreements are the most democratic procedure under the constitution, Mr. McClure treats his subject profoundly and comprehensively.

The first section of the book cites in detail, numerous examples of agreement from the very earliest American international collaboration to recent actions. This survey indicates that this method of diplomatic procedure has been frequently used in reference to a wide variety of subjects. It is also pointed out that congressional participation in the operation of this mode of procedure has occurred on numerous occasions by "specific concurring legislation." The second part of the book justifies resort to this method of action by relating it to the natural development of constitutional usage. This development is regarded as a definite contribution and a part of the fundamental law of the land. Various general principles, practices, and judicial decisions are marshalled to support this contention. In the third section the author makes a thorough examination of the constitutional powers of the President and Congress as they relate to foreign affairs. This is accomplished by reference to the ideas of the Founding Fathers, to the phraseology of the constitution as interpreted by the Supreme Court, to pertinent statements by constitutional publicists and to general principles commonly inherent in the executive branch of all sovereign governments. The author leaves unexplored no phase of governmental power in the sphere of foreign relations. Following this detailed

statement of facts accompanied by an extensive legalistic array of contentions the conclusion is that, "the President can do by executive agreement anything that he can do by treaty, provided Congress by law coöperates. And there is a very wide field of action in which the coöperation of Congress is not necessary; indeed, where Congress possesses no constitutional authority to dissent." Consequently, the practice of Senate ratification by a two-thirds majority, with the inherent danger of minority control, is regarded out of date and inadequate, at least for "controversial international acts."

Mr. McClure's general treatment and conclusion are based on his firm belief in the ultimate validity of majority rule and democratic procedure. In these times all friends of positive parliamentary government will welcome this vigorous support of a virile American foreign policy. This study does not stand alone in its contention that prompt responsible executive action is a lesser evil than the delay and vacillation of divided authority. Noticeable tremors in the foundation of the western state system have forced a reconsideration of many procedures we took for granted in less perilous times. Mr. McClure urges his thesis with the detachment of the scientist in some sections and with the ardor of a pamphleteer in others. In doing this he sometimes chooses his own weapons, uses what appears to be needless repetition at some points and quotes rather too lengthily from certain court opinions, notably *United States V. Curtiss-Wright Export Corporation*. However, these observations are not meant to detract from the significant contribution to the understanding of the proper exercise of democratic diplomatic procedure.

CONLEY H. DILLON.

Marshall College,
Huntington, West Virginia.

BOOK NOTICES

San Martín pintado por sí mismo. Prólogo y notas de Luis Alberto Sánchez. (Santiago de Chile: Ediciones Ercilla, 1941. Pp. 172. \$14.00 m/n.)

This book reprints letters of the famous revolutionary general, José de San Martín, which give an insight into his character and personality. These letters are preceded by a brief biographical sketch, by a discussion of that general's ideology, and by a number of bibliographical references. In large part the letters here printed are contained in the volume edited by the Argentine scholar Carranza which was entitled *San Martín, su correspondencia (1823-1850)*. In addition, Sr. Sánchez has reprinted two letters taken from a book recently published by the Argentine scholar, Colombres Mármol, concerning the momentous interview of Bolívar and San Martín at Guayaquil in 1822. The volume here reviewed is a number in the Chilean series entitled *Biblioteca Amauta* which evidently aims to disseminate widely the social and political ideals of leading South Americans.

WILLIAM SPENCE ROBERTSON.

University of Illinois.

El federalismo argentino. By RICARDO ZORRAQUÍN BECÚ. (Buenos Aires: Ed. "La Facultad," 1939. Pp. 297.)

This is a thoughtful interpretation of Argentine federalism. Part I is devoted to the task of explaining the origins of Argentine federalism. The author finds the older explanations of Sarmiento, Saldías, Ibarguren, Ramos Mejía unsatisfactory and historically unrealistic.

He suggests that the causes of federalism go "deeper than localist sentiments." "El origen del federalismo no reside en el espíritu localista, sino en el antagonismo regional, que tanto en lo político como en lo económico opone unas zonas a otras. . ." (p. 32)

These regional antagonisms which made a unitary state with its capital in Buenos Aires an impossibility were of three kinds. Porteño Jacobin liberalism of Buenos Aires was repulsive to the conservative Catholic interior. Economic antagonism resulted from the fact that Buenos Aires, being a seaport, was too inclined toward free trade to suit the interior which wanted protectionism for its industries. Another antagonism was born of the fact that the more heterogeneous

population of the littoral was naturally opposed to and out of sympathy with the stratified society of the interior. In view of all this, federalism was a formula for peace between the diverse regions which, because of the geography of the territory, could not afford to be completely disunited.

Part II is a discussion of the nature of Argentine federalism. After a very interesting discussion of a doctrinaire nature, the author concludes that in the political and economic realities, Argentina is no longer federal in operation. The development of international commerce and concentration of wealth in Buenos Aires has placed the rest of the country in a dependent position with relation to the capital.

WILLIAM M. GIBSON.

Duke University.

Texan Statecraft, 1836-1845. By JOSEPH WILLIAM SCHMITZ. (San Antonio: The Naylor Company, 1941. Pp. x, 266. \$2.75.)

Professor Schmitz, in his preface, states that his book is not intended to be definitive, but that it is intended "to give a comprehensive account of the efforts made by Texas to establish itself as a member of the family of nations." Diplomatic activities engaged in by other countries to further their own ends are omitted. The author is to be commended for thus voluntarily limiting his narrative, for the average reader who desires a clear picture of the foreign relations of Texas will prefer to have it thus, and those who care to delve deeper into the maze of diplomatic negotiation and intrigue over Texas may consult the books and articles listed in the carefully prepared bibliography.

Chapter one gives the necessary background, covering as it does the settlement of Texas by Anglo-Americans, the separation from Mexico, and the establishment of the Republic of Texas. The succeeding eleven chapters hold strictly to the author's intention as announced in the preface, and the reviewer feels that Professor Schmitz has attained his objective which is "to tell what the Texans wanted, how they set about getting it, and to what extent they succeeded or failed." His grasp of detail and the orderly presentation of material indicate careful research and study. The interest of the reader is sustained as he follows the efforts of Texas to secure recognition from the United States and then to have itself annexed: the negotiation of treaties with France, Holland, and Great Britain; the three efforts to end the war with Mexico by diplomacy; the alliance with Yucatan when these attempts failed; the proposed triple intervention by France, Great Britain and the United States; the negotiations with Belgium

and the Hanseatic Cities; and, finally, the annexation of Texas to the United States. Each chapter makes stimulating reading. The flow of the narrative is smooth and one gets the impression of a large subject adequately treated. One notes that the proofreading is excellent and the type and format very attractive. The book is a welcome addition to the historical literature pertaining to the Southwest.

C. T. NEU.

The East Texas State Teachers College.

Our Latin American Neighbors. By PHILIP LEONARD GREEN. (New York: Hastings House, 1941. Pp. 182. \$2.00.)

This book is very elementary and condensed. According to the author it "makes no attempt to exhaust the study of Latin American life in all its phases. It simply serves to point the way and to open up new vistas to this interesting field."

The work will appeal to the uninformed public, but students and scholars of Latin-American history can have little use for it, because it contains everything that is quite generally known to them. There are no footnotes and the bibliography is very scant and incomplete. It includes mostly texts and popular works in English, and cites no Spanish authorities.

In regard to culture the author states: "All that this rather condensed account can hope to accomplish is to give some feeling of the immensity and peculiar characteristics of Latin American cultural contributions throughout the ages and to indicate just a few of the highlights." This purpose is hardly accomplished in the short summary given. From one who lived in South America for four years, and knows Spanish and Portuguese thoroughly, the scholar expects more. The book reads easily and is for the general public, but cannot be used as a reference book.

LILLIAN ESTELLE FISHER.

Hunter College.

The Foreign Trade of Latin America: Part II, Commercial Policies and Trade Relations of Individual Latin American Countries. (Washington: United States Tariff Commission, 1940. 20 sections.)

With the issuance early in December, 1941, of the last three sections (#12, El Salvador, #14, Honduras, and #15, Nicaragua) of Part II, the United States Tariff Commission's monumental work on *The Foreign Trade of Latin America* [1929-1939] is now completed. Part I dealing with the trade of Latin America as a whole and Part

III dealing with approximately thirty selected Latin-American export commodities came out early in 1940. Of Part II, Sections 1-10 covering South America and #17 on Mexico appeared in 1940 while the other nine sections were brought out at intervals during 1941.

As would be expected there is considerable variation in the size of the sections, Mexico requires 108 pages, Paraguay only 44 pages. The same general format, however, is maintained throughout except that while an excellent outline map faces the title page of *all* the sections, only Argentina and the Caribbean countries are provided with national maps. These are very well done and it is to be regretted that the South American countries were not treated in the same way. (For some inexplicable reason #13 has a map of Hispaniola but none of Guatemala.)

The text of the sections is divided regularly into three parts, 1. a description of country's physical characteristics, population and natural resources, 2. an account of the country's foreign trade and 3. a discussion of the country's trade with the United States.

Naturally statistics play a major part but they are so handled that the interested reader finds no trouble making his way through them. For research purposes the tables which vary in number from 13 in #13 to 18 in #1 are priceless. Some of those in the Guatemala section are: Table I, Trade with the World (p. 21), Table II, Trade with the United States (p. 22), Table IV, Exports by groups and principal commodities, in specified years, 1929-1939 (p. 28) and Table XIII, Partial balance of payments between the United States and Guatemala, 1929-1938 (p. 58).

Even the casual reader will encounter items of interest hidden among the statistics. In the Guatemala section one finds that the chicle lands (chicle is used in the manufacturing of chewing gum base) are owned by the Government and that all the chicle is transported to the shipping point, Puerto Barrios, by airplane (Section 13, Guatemala, p. 11).

From the standpoint of scholarship the sections leave nothing to be desired. Documentation is ample and the great quantity of citations makes these publications serve as a veritable bibliography. In addition, tucked away in the footnotes are such interesting tidbits as the statement that blackstrap molasses is used in the manufacture of sweet cattle feeds and in the manufacture of yeast and vinegar (#19, Dominican Republic, p. 6).

In short, for anyone who works in the field of U. S.-Latin American trade these publications are a veritable "God-send." One hopes

that every five years and certainly every decade similar analyses will be provided by the Tariff Commission.

OSGOOD HARDY.

Occidental College.

La falsa cubanidad de Saco, Luz y Del Monte. By RAFAEL SOTO PAZ. (Havana: Editorial "Alfa," 1941. Pp. 140. \$1.00 m/n.)

The revision of certain historical values in Cuban history in the light of critical investigation of source material is the stated purpose of *La falsa cubanidad*. The reader is soon disappointed, however, to find that it is only an attack on three of the most revered Cubans of the nineteenth century—José Antonio Saco, José de la Luz y Caballero, and Domingo del Monte. Their *cubanidad* is said to be false because they were social and political reformers instead of revolutionaries; because their energies were spent in attacking the flagrant contraband slave trade rather than the institution of slavery. As a substitute for these leaders the author offers Félix Varela, Ignacio Agramonte, and José Martí, whose ideals and activities as Cuban patriots are more to his taste.

Almost all the conclusions as well as the use of source materials are open to question. Certainly a book whose aim is to revise historical conceptions should be well provided with footnotes and a critical bibliography, neither of which appears in this study. Nevertheless, the writer has performed a service to historical writing in Cuba in that he has dared to criticize men whom his compatriots have heretofore considered beyond attack. Others will follow who will subject all phases and personalities of Cuban history—even Martí himself—to more severe investigation.

DUVON C. CORBITT.

Candler College.

México revolucionario. By ALFREDO BRECEDA. (Mexico City: Ediciones Botas, 1941. Pp. 249. \$2.50 m/n.)

In 1920 Alfredo Breceda, now Mexican minister to Panama, published his first volume of *México revolucionario*. The second volume, published in 1941, was meant to appear soon after the first, but political events in Mexico (fostered by the Sonorense triumvirate of Obregón, Calles, and de la Huerta) prevented its publication. The author was accused of treason in December, 1923, and an attempted arrest and execution was thwarted by friends. But his library and documents were confiscated, and only with great difficulty were many

of the archives published in this book later placed again in the hands of the author. This collection of documents relating to the political history of Mexico from 1910 to 1914 is of great importance to the historian. Collected by an enemy of Calles, the documents are used here to support the Carranza and Constitutional side of the issue, and the "señores de Agua Prieta" are the recipients of highly heaped vehemence. They are nevertheless a collection of value to the history of this period of the Mexican Revolution.

FRITZ L. HOFFMANN.

University of Colorado.

Apuntes sobre la vida militar de Francisco Villa. By NELLIE CAMPOBELLO. (Mexico: Edición y Distribución Ibero-Americana de Publicaciones, S. A., 1940. Pp. 203. \$4.00 m/n.)

One could scarcely call this flimsily-bound volume a profound contribution to the literature dealing with Pancho Villa. Granting the cunning and ability of Villa (or perhaps of his right-hand "angel," General Felipe Angeles), as a maker of guerilla conflict, he was probably neither the best military genius of America nor the best since Genghis Khan, as the author confidently asserts.

The book itself, supposedly based upon evidence furnished by Villa's widow and upon consultations with various of his old comrades-in-arms, is very condensed and highly factual. But at least it attempts to organize the story of Villa's military career in logical fashion, albeit with a good deal of bitter but possibly natural prejudice against Carranza and all the other enemies of the bandit general. There is mingled into the military story some of the political, economic, and social background of the times, but not nearly enough to be of great value to the historian; while as a literary production the book is distinctly inferior to the works of Martín Luis Guzmán.

Chapter I deals with the appearance of Villa—"El Hombre de Guerra"—on the military scene in the Madero Revolution. Thenceforth the arrangement of the book is severely simple, with the campaigns of each year separately considered—1912 through 1918-1919—with a supplementary chapter, "Recorrido Napoleónico." Although not very original, the arrangement is adequate for the scope of the book, despite a liberal number of blank pages.

Possibly the chief merit of the volume is that it tries to condense into a relatively small space the highlights of the Villista warfare which kept northern Mexico uneasy for nearly a decade. The author makes a studied attempt to achieve a sprightly style, but to this reviewer her efforts became wearisome after the first few pages. There

appear to be no very glaring errors of fact. The author clings consistently to her military thesis by ignoring most of Villa's life before and after his martial career; but she brings into the work a considerable quantity of statistical material which seems to have no great military significance.

The Villa legend, it seems to this reviewer, gains little by the long listing of officers and nicknames of brigades (as, for example, on pp. 64-65). If the author intended to produce a military treatise, moreover, a good map or two might have done more to enhance the value of her book than does the apparently conscientious effort to include the names of rather unimportant and long-forgotten minor heroes.

RUFUS KAY WYLLYS.

Arizona State College.

The Continental Doctrine in the Mexican Senate. [National and International Problems Series, No. 4.] (Mexico City: Department of State for Foreign Affairs, Bureau of International News Service, 1941. Pp. 118. Distributed gratis by the Bureau.)

History was made on Friday, March 7, 1941, when at the invitation of the Mexican Senate, Ezequiel Padilla, the Secretary of Foreign Relations, appeared before that body to inform it on the state of relations between Mexico and the United States and the other American nations. This book presents the events of that meeting as well as press commentaries and opinions of some distinguished persons of both Mexico and the United States concerning Padilla's speech defining Pan-American doctrine. Padilla, upon interpellation, stated that a military alliance had not been signed with the United States, but that if the emergencies of the war should demand it, the government would not hesitate to resort to such a measure. This statement was greeted by cheers. If bases are to be constructed in Mexico, Padilla stated, they would be constructed with Mexican funds, by Mexican engineers, and by Mexican workers. No lands in such bases would be alienated and would always remain under Mexican sovereignty even though they might be placed at the disposal of all the American countries. The Government of Mexico, in Padilla's words, "will uphold the doctrine of continental solidarity no less steadfastly than the other peoples of the Americas. By so doing she will be defending her own destinies as well."

FRITZ L. HOFFMANN.

University of Colorado.

La infiltración nazi-fascista en la Argentina. By ENRIQUE DICKMANN. (Buenos Aires: Ediciones Sociales Argentinas, 1939. Pp. 136. \$1.00 m/n.)

The United States has its Martin Dies, Uruguay, its Hugo Fernández Artucio, and Argentina, its Raul Damonte Taborda. In their respective countries—indeed, throughout the Hemisphere—their names have become synonymous with the investigation of subversive activities. But, other leaders, too, have warned of the Nazi-Fascist peril. Enrique Dickmann, Socialist member of the Argentine Chamber of Deputies, is one of these. It was he who, in 1938, introduced the resolution which created the Damonte Taborda committee. In this booklet there are reproduced four extensive speeches which Señor Dickmann made in support of that resolution. The purpose of the publication was to inform the Argentine people of the dangers of Nazi-Fascist penetration. Names and addresses of pro-Nazi leaders and organizations are given in abundance. Señor Dickmann's discourses are a revealing testimony both of the extent of Nazi infiltration as early as 1938 and of the depth of democratic idealism among the Argentine people.

HAROLD F. PETERSON.

State Teachers College,
Buffalo, New York.

Don Manuel. By LUIS ALBERTO SÁNCHEZ. (Santiago de Chile: Editorial Ercilla, 1937. Pp. 236, index. \$16.00 m/n.)

Valdivia el Fundador. By LUIS ALBERTO SÁNCHEZ. (Santiago de Chile: Editorial Ercilla, 1940. Pp. 220, ii. \$16.00 m/n.)

These are two volumes of "Ediciones Ercilla," brought out in cheap popular form. Their appearance is timely in view of the presence in this country of the author, a well-known, opposition political leader of Peru, who has spent much time during recent years in exile and who actually directs Editorial Ercilla. Furthermore the publication of such low-priced books bespeaks a sincere desire to bring contemporary writings within reach of the average purse.

The first of these books is a reprint of the well-known life of Manuel González Prada, poet, political leader and director of the National Library in Lima. Don Manuel, before his death in 1918, was also one of the precursors of the revolutionary movement that became the APRA of our day. His recognition was not merely continental but world wide.

The second book represents the novelesque type of biography that

promises to become increasingly popular. It is not frankly termed a novel nor does the author eschew historical data; but he does not permit the latter to hamper his literary expression. The average reader will recognize that after 400 years the numerous conversations are purely fictitious, but there is a sincere attempt to interpret the spirit of the actors and to depict their surroundings with verisimilitude. The presence of Inez Suárez, "The Conqueror's Lady," gives added romance to the tale.

I. J. C.

Perú en trance de novela. By AUGUSTO TAMAYO VARGAS. (Lima: Ediciones Baluarte, 1940. Pp. 156. 4 soles.)

Here is a book that deceives the reader from the title, *Perú en trance de novela*, to the last page. It should appear that at least several novelists should be considered during the period which the author has in mind. But as the subtitle of this work explains, it aims at being a "critical and biographical essay on Mercedes Cabello de Carbonera," in many ways the first realist of Peru. But again we are deceived in the subtitle, for there is no criticism of the novelist's technique, no philosophical appreciation of her work, no historical attitude. And when we look for the most elementary information about her life we only find vague generalities and facts already recorded in other places.

When you finish reading *Perú en trance de novela* you know nothing about the formation and development of the Peruvian novel; you have no idea of Señora de Carbonera's merits; of her rôle in the literary life of her time; of her influence on future writers.

Señor Tamayo Vargas follows too closely Luis Alberto Sánchez's method of writing literary criticism as if it were fiction prose at its best, superficial parlor chit-chat at its worst. His sentences are brief and disconnected; his style is discursive; his statements are pointless and irrelevant. One does not know whether Señor Tamayo Vargas has no knowledge of syntax and logic, or whether he is purposely trying to be modern by being incorrect.

In short, *Perú en trance de novela* does not contribute an iota to the study of the Spanish-American novel and is wasted material.

University of California.

A. TORRES-RIOSECO.

The Controversy between Peru and Ecuador. By FRANCISCO TUDELA. (Lima: Imprenta Torres Aguirre, 1941. Map. Pp. 46.)

The author, president of the Peruvian delegation to the fruitless conference at Washington which met for nearly two years between

1936 and 1938, attempts in this pamphlet to set forth "the invulnerability of Peru's juridical position in her controversy with Ecuador." This controversy is a boundary dispute more than a century old which flared up again during the past year. The difficulty is the manner of applying the oft-quoted *uti possidetis* principle of Bolívar. That principle assumed a definiteness of colonial boundaries which was far from existing. Remote missions and military districts like those of Maynas and Jaén were vague in extent and were transferred back and forth between the different subdivisions of the Spanish empire.

During more than a century, since 1830, this particular problem has been discussed between the two nations in a series of conferences, protocols, arbitral awards, and other diplomatic *fiestas*. In the last conference in Washington, the Peruvians, according to the Quito Protocol of 1924, held that they were there merely to arrange the frontier in detail; there was no question of the "organic sovereignty" of big areas like Maynas. The Ecuadoreans held that the whole area in dispute was to be submitted to the arbitral decision of the President of the United States. On this strained note, the conference ended in a deadlock. It requires a great respect for diplomacy which, among other things, may be called the art of keeping a straight face, to see why two groups of pundits required nearly two years to decide that they could not agree as to what the argument was about, *i.e.*, define the area in dispute. On the other hand, in view of the great usefulness of boundary disputes as a means of turning public opinion away from domestic affairs in difficult periods, one may assume that the rulers of countries like Peru and Ecuador know their business.

The present pamphlet will be filed with dozens of others on this controversy to be consulted by some candidate for a doctor's degree.

ROBERT E. McNICOLL.

University of Habana.

De todos los tiempos. Crónicas de heroísmo y de barbarie. By ALFREDO JÁUREGUI ROSQUELLAS. (Sucre, Bolivia: Editorial Charcas, 1938. Pp. 235).

This book is a collection of twenty-two essays, beginning with an essay on "La civilización anteincásica" and coming to an end with one on "El Camino del Calvario." There are two essays dealing with Columbus: "La ruta de Colón" and "Los amores de Colón." There is one on "Don Francisco de Toledo," one on "Indios y Mestizos," one on "Un monstruo de crueldad," dealing with the man who caused the execution of Tupac Amaru II, Dn. Antonio José de Areche, "Visitador

del Perú, Chile y Río de La Plata," one on "La Logia Lautaro," three on Bolívar, one on Hidalgo, two on "La Guerra del Pacífico": one on the engagement at Calama, the other on that at Pisagua, and one on "El Gran Dictador," dealing with Dr. José María Linares. There are also several others.

Dr. Zacarías Benavides gives in the *Prólogo* an excellent but brief appraisal of the literary and historical activities of the author. Dr. Benavides justly calls attention to the fact that the greatness of Dr. Jáuregui rests not merely upon his brilliant writing but upon the courage of his convictions and the beauty of his literary style. There is a sanity about his writings that is highly refreshing. Dr. Jáuregui has done an excellent job in the writing of these essays. So much so that Dr. Benavides very aptly calls him the leader of the *Culto a lo desconocidos*. With it all Dr. Jáuregui is intensely Bolivian, despite the fact that he is the greatest champion that Old Mother Spain has throughout all Spanish America.

These essays throw a great deal of light on the intriguingly interesting history of Bolivia. "Es la personalidad del historiador," declares Dr. Benavides,

la que ha crecido y, como he dicho en otra parte, se ha definido notablemente. Con estos "Crónicos de todos los Tiempos," "La España Heroica," "Sucre, Mártir y Santo," "La ciudad de cuatro nombres," etc. para citar sino sus principales producciones, el aporte de Jáuregui a la obra todavía incipiente de la Historia Boliviana, es ya valioso y considerable, además de que tiene próximos a publicarse otras obras de igual importancia (pp. vii-viii).

Several of these essays are of high order of merit. It would hardly be fair to the author to say which are the best for the topics are so varied and so different in character. The reviewer finds those on the Indians and the *mestizos* especially penetrating and intelligently done. This is particularly true of the essay on *La civilización anteincásica. En las sombras del pasado*. Interesting, too, are his essays on Bolívar, particularly on his rôle as a prophet. He is on excellent ground, too, in his treatment of regionalism which he discusses so ably in his essay on "Una doctrina peligrosa. El gaje del vencedor." In fact all of these essays should be studied carefully by all who would have a clearer and more intelligent appreciation of the history of one of the great peoples of Latin America.

The book is in paper cover and very nicely printed. Not the least valuable is the glossary of the Quechua terms used at the end of the volume. The index is brief but good.

N. ANDREW N. CLEVEN.

University of Pittsburgh.

Conferencias didácticas de geografía de Bolivia. By ALFREDO JÁUREGUI ROSQUELLAS. (La Paz: Librería e Imprenta Anno Hnos., 1937. Pp. 174.)

This is a collection of four lectures for students in education in La Paz. The first lecture begins with a very brief discussion of the geography of South America and then takes up the geography of Bolivia. In the second and third lectures he discusses the physiography, the climate, the natural resources, the population, the languages, and the religion of Bolivia. In the fourth lecture he gives a brief résumé of what he has done, and takes up the teaching of civics and the international life of the country.

Throughout the book Dr. Jáuregui emphasizes, as was to be expected, the uniqueness of Bolivia: its location in the heart of the continent, a truly mediterranean country; its threefold zonal divisions: the *planicies*, the Amazonian and La Platan regions; its rich natural resources, so badly in need of more means of communication and transportation; its trying location with regard to its neighbors; and its struggle with exotic ideologies. His factual materials are unusually good and detailed, although there is little that is new. In the field of interpretation he is, of course, subjective. Since these lectures were given while his country was still at war with Paraguay he finds a place for propaganda. There must be *una costa para Bolivia!* There can hardly be anyone who will find fault with him for that.

This series of lectures is an excellent example of the "way" of the proponent of the "new geography." The emphasis is distinctly that of the student of "human" geography, a bringing to bear upon the topic most of the social sciences. In this Dr. Jáuregui has caught the spirit of the age. The defect of the treatment is that there is a hodge-podge of stuff, nothing much that is new, save a point of view. He is impressed with this objection to the methods of the teacher of the "new geography," for he points out the need of a greater integration and correlation of the various sciences concerned with the study of man; but does not show the need of a greater respect for "fields" of study, nor the need of the geographer knowing better each of the new fields upon which he calls to aid him. There will be little added to human knowledge in Bolivia, as well as in our own country, until the modern geographer pays greater attention to that cardinal fact.

Dr. Jáuregui gives a good discussion of civic education, distinguishing between civic education and education for citizenship. He thinks it is not enough to teach merely for citizenship but demands that there must be a greater emphasis upon morals in which religion

plays a greater part than it does in an education merely for citizenship. To quote:

La Patria vive en el tiempo y en el espacio. Dentro de ella están las glorias pretéritas, los esfuerzos, las emociones, la inquietud de las sostenidas luchas, las iniciativas, las decepciones, los éxitos y los fracasos, las virtudes y los vicios, las glorificaciones y las caídas que a todos atañen, de la misma manera que se encuentra en la casa, en el barrio, en la ciudad y en la nación (p. 151).

Finally Dr. Jáuregui does not fail to inject his favorite idea, an emphasis upon the excellence of Spain's constructive work in the Americas. He emphasizes the pacifism of Bolivia and its interest in arbitration rather than war, and its opposition to every sort of exotic idea that tends to distort that love of peace and order which she inherited from Old Mother Spain.

N. ANDREW N. CLEVEN.

University of Pittsburgh.

Don Pepe, retrato de un maestro de escuela. By RAFAEL ESTÉNGER. (Havana: Editorial "Alfa," 1940. Pp. 110.)

Although José de la Luz y Caballero (Don Pepe) wrote many articles and reports on education and other subjects, it was as a lay preacher in the classroom of his privately owned academy El Salvador that he helped to shape the destinies of his country. So deeply did he stamp his ideals upon his students that their place in the struggle for independence and the formation of the Cuban Republic is unique. Señor Esténger has done well to prepare a study of the great teacher for the use of students. Historians will find no new facts in the work. The writer, who is a journalist, confessed that he "used very few books in writing this biography." His aim was to produce a book that young people could read with as much pleasure "as a romantic novel." He has scarcely achieved this goal, but he has produced a very readable volume. Scholars will turn rather to the studies of Don Pepe and his work by José Ignacio Rodríguez, Manuel Sanguily, Antonio Bachiller y Morales, and Alfredo Zayas.

DUVON C. CORBITT.

Candler College.

Libertad y democracia. By COSME DE LA TORRIENTE. (Havana: Imprenta "El Siglo XX." 1941. Pp. xxix, 225.)

This volume of speeches and articles is a sequel to one published by the same author in 1939 under the title *Cuarenta años de mi vida.* *Libertad y democracia* contains the public utterances of Dr. Torriente

between January 1, 1939, and June 5, 1941. It is divided into two parts: "La libertad en Cuba" and "La democracia y la guerra." Five of the eight papers in Part I deal with political and social problems of present-day Cuba. The other three are on topics of interest to the veterans of the wars for independence. The burden of the eighteen papers in Part II is the necessity for Cuba's wholehearted coöperation with Britain and the United States as the only means to achieve democracy at home and fulfill its destiny in international life. Two quotations will show the author's viewpoint: (1) "In case the United States is involved in a war against the totalitarian powers of Europe or of Asia, the only road for Cuba to follow is that of speedy and effective aid to the American nation," and (2) "If Great Britain loses the War and is destroyed as a world power, and afterwards the United States is in turn defeated by a totalitarian coalition of brute force, Cuba will be converted anew into a colony of some non-American nation." Dr. Torriente has translated words into action by accepting the presidency of the Fondo Cubano-Americano de Socorro a los Aliados.

DUVON C. CORBITT.

Candler College.

History of Latin America. By HUTTON WEBSTER. [Third edition revised and augmented by Roland Dennis Hussey.] (Boston: D. C. Heath & Company, 1941. Pp. x, 326. \$1.64.)

The principal object of Dr. Hussey's second revision of Webster's *History of Latin America* is to give a better balance to the work as a whole. Thus only chapters one and two escape any important alteration. Throughout in general he has incorporated the results of recent research. However, the colonization of San Francisco and northern Mexico should find a place here. Certain data need revision, such as the impression of total censorship of books in the colonies. On the other hand, Dr. Hussey has with good judgment retained the orthodox treatment of certain subjects in dispute recently, such as the life of Columbus. The value of the work is enhanced by stimulating review questions, suggested projects of significance, striking illustrations, and an excellent bibliography for "pupils in school and college and the general reader." The total result is easily the most competent survey, elementary in character and purpose, well integrated and clearly presented, known to the reviewer.

It is no detraction to the general excellence of the work to note that in chapter eleven the Good Neighbor Policy should continue the thread of Pan Americanism, and that the "Yankee Peril" is the

logical successor to the United States Caribbean policy. Finally the reviewer questions the current belief accepted here that the Good Neighbor Policy has its roots in previous administrations. The rallying of Latin America behind the United States today is proof that this vital policy has a broader basis than Wilson's Mobile speech, Hoover's withdrawal of a few marines, and the publication of a memorandum by Mr. Clark.

ALFRED B. THOMAS.

University of Alabama.

El señorío de Cuauhtochco. Luchas agrarias en México durante el Virreynato. By GONZALO AGUIRRE BELTRÁN. (México: Ediciones Frente Cultural, 1940. Pp. 220. \$3.00 m/n.)

This is the case history of a small district situated in a fertile part of the Mexican state of Vera Cruz and called Huatusco, a Spanish corruption of the original Aztec name indicated in the title of the book. As a case history this work has considerable value in throwing light on early aspects of the agrarian problems of some parts of the Spanish controlled New World. It should be pointed out, however, that this story of Huatusco contributes to an understanding of the complex land problems only with respect to the relations of the Spaniards with sedentary aboriginal tribes existing in a comparatively well developed agricultural economy; this case history has little applicability to similar contacts of the conquering race with roving, nomadic tribes in less favored regions and frontier areas. The sharp focus of this monograph on one small district and the relatively little actual violence attending the evolution at any time of its agrarian problems scarcely justify the alluring and comprehensive secondary title of the book which tends to promise the reader much more than is fulfilled and thus disappoints him unnecessarily.

The successful efforts in 1849 of the Agricultural Society of Huatusco, headed by a direct descendant of the aboriginal owners, to buy back the land as a community *ejido* from the feudalistic proprietors were later nullified in part by a plan, instigated by the well-intentioned Emperor Maximilian, to divide the area into small lots for individual ownership. An Austrian engineer had devoted two years in 1867 to preparing irrigation ditches and a detailed survey of the district, for which service the Agricultural Society proved unwilling to pay the fee charged. The unlucky foreigner then took his carefully prepared plans and papers with him to Vera Cruz and, before departing for Europe, turned them over to a friend at that port, possibly hoping that the Huatusco Agricultural Society would yet reconsider

its refusal to compensate him. Ultimately, these interesting documents came into the possession of the author who succeeded in locating the records of the nineteenth-century Agricultural Society and in assembling related material from other local repositories. With this impressive array of documentation the present work was written in nine chapters, each of which is further divided into five sub-topics, throughout which the author follows the vicissitudes of the land problem in the community of Huatusco during the entire colonial period. The fairly easy style of writing this episodic narrative is broken by frequent long quotations from and occasional reproduction of the text of entire documents on which the study is based. To some this will not appear as a defect since it clearly reveals the unique materials used by the author in a work which will be found useful to students of an important aspect of the economic history of colonial Mexico.

IRVING A. LEONARD.

Brown University.

Las calles de México. I, Leyendas y sucedidas. II, Vida y costumbres de otros tiempos. Quinta edición. By LUIS GONZÁLEZ OBREGÓN. Foreword to Vol. I by CARLOS GONZÁLEZ PEÑA, RAFAEL LÓPEZ, and ARTEMIO DE VALLE-ARIZPE. Foreword to Vol. II by LUIS G. URBINA. (Mexico City: Ediciones Botas, 1941. 2 vols. in one. Pp. xix, 222; xii, 233. \$10.00 m/n.)

This, the fifth edition of Luis González Obregón's famous work on Mexico City, differs little from the fourth published in 1936, two years before his death. The forewords, including some verses by Rafael López, were really in the form of tributes to one of Mexico's great historians.

"Gonzalito," as his many friends knew him, combined the gift of an historical nose for news, with a genius for writing. Through the medium of simple little tales about colonial customs and events, centering around street names and legends, González Obregón recreated vividly the scene of the Mexico City of the viceroys. He furthermore had the faculty of mingling legends with the results of a most painstaking type of historical scholarship, and yet, seemingly without effort, keeping the reader constantly aware of what was cold fact and what was colorful legend used solely for flavor. Thus he retained the valid parts of both without becoming either pedantic or obscure.

Of the many devices used by González Obregón, one of the most striking was that employed in the section on "La Mulata de Córdoba" in volume one. After exhausting the historical explanations of the disappearance of La Mulata—each sentence laboring a little more until

one wonders if Don Luis had lost both his touch and his sense of proportion—he made this startling statement: “Here I have the truth concerning the events.” Then with beautiful simplicity he related a patent fairytale giving one an insight into the superstitious mind of the colonial inhabitants of Mexico City. Furthermore, he did not insult the reader by drawing obvious conclusions, moralizing, or criticizing, but let his sound scholarship and his sympathetic treatment of his subject segregate the fact from the fable, evaluate the scene, and instruct as well as amuse. As Carlos González Peña stated, Don Luis without falsifying history, but rather enriching it, brought about the miracle of popularizing it.

This reviewer remembers with considerable warmth how González Obregón took time from his archival tasks to chat with and advise a young graduate student, who had little to recommend him but his enthusiasm. Don Luis's interest in the history of Mexico City, even though the special phase of another's research was being discussed, was both contagious and inspiring.

Besides the historical sketches, the volumes have some appendices worthy of special note. At the end of volume one is an alphabetical list of ancient street names with indications of the modern terminology. After volume two is a reprint of the *Loa sacramental en meta-phora de las calles de México*, by Pedro de Marmolejo (Mexico City, 1635); and of *México por dentro y por fuera, o sea guía de forasteros*, by José Joaquín de Lizardi; and of “La Calle de Porta Coeli y el Callejón de Tabaqueros,” from *El Universal*, by Rangel and Jacobo Dalevuelta.

CHESTER L. GUTHRIE.

The National Archives,
Washington, D. C.

Bosquejo del proceso de la música en el Perú. By ABRAHAM VIZCARRA ROZAS. Cuzco: Universidad Nacional del Cuzco, 1940. Pp. 65. (\$1.00 m/n.)

Los orígenes del arte musical en Chile. By EUGENIO PEREIRA SALAS. (Santiago: Imprenta Universitaria, 1941. Pp. xvi, 373.)

Panorama de la música mexicana desde la independencia hasta la actualidad. By OTTO MAYER-SERRA. (México: El Colegio de México, 1941. Pp. 196).

Colonial cultures, especially after they have become independent political units, are first-rate musicological laboratories in which the processes of history can be observed in peculiar relief. Unfortunately,

historical viewpoints and methods are late in establishing themselves in what seems to be the dull field of colonial music. Time comes, however, when there awakens a consciousness of having evolved a new strain; and then enthusiasts, amateurs, connoisseurs, and scholars turn first to admire, then to enquire into the nature of the new entity. Thus they are thrown back into belated historical studies, whose data, in spite of their comparatively recent date, have been all but cast away by the prevailing backward look toward the parent European culture.

Sr. Vizcarra's little pamphlet on the music of Peru emphasizes the indigenous element. It is a doctoral thesis presented in the National University of Cuzco and consists of a compilation, in form of a topical survey, of the views of a considerable number of authors ranged successively with a minimum of critical apparatus.

Professor Pereira's very substantial volume on the music of Chile presents a well-rounded, documented, and scholarly account of a music sub-community in which the European element almost completely predominates. Indices and bibliography are of highest usefulness. Especially valuable are the illustrations and the inventory of Chilean musical production 1714-1860. The most difficult part of our New World musico-historical problem—integration of folk, popular, and fine-art idioms—is handled in a manner far less critically biased than is usual in the United States. In Chile, as in a number of other Latin-American countries, people have faced the reality of their own folk and popular music without the disdain and apology so common in Anglo-American countries. This fact, perhaps, has aided the personal inclination of the author toward the scientific and objective type of historiography of which his book is an excellent example.

Dr. Mayer-Serra's panorama of the music of Mexico since independence is an example of the predominantly critical type of writing. He does not pretend to write a history, but rather a survey of trends in the emergence of musical nationalism in Mexico. The first break away from musical universalism, he feels, was made in 1917 in a memorable concert by Ponce at which this composer presented for the first time a set of piano pieces built upon Mexican popular songs. The book leads down to the "indigenismo modernista" of Chavez and the "realismo mestizo" of Revueltas of which two he thinks Galindo offers a synthesis. The bibliography and indices are adequate and useful. Especially interesting is the effort to show music in its social setting, with the composer as producer, the public as consumer, and the concert-hall as a kind of "values exchange."

All three of these volumes, but especially the last two, represent steps toward a view of the history of music as an element in culture

history rather than as a thing in itself. As with the large majority of musicologists in North America and Europe, the focus is still narrowly set upon written rather than unwritten (oral) traditions, upon professional rather than nonprofessional values, upon the value of music in itself rather than upon the value of music to other things, upon music made to be listened to rather than music made by the listener himself, upon the concert-hall rather than upon the home, the group-gathering or the community, and upon the doings of an elite in the cities rather than upon the doings of a people over a vast land.

It is worth emphasizing here, however, that although the United States is ahead of Latin America in music-printing, manufacture of instruments and music organization in general, it has much to learn from several countries to the south concerning the "recognition of its musical self."

CHARLES SEEGER.

Washington, D. C.

Los Jesuitas del Perú. By RUBÉN VARGAS UGARTE, S. J. (Lima: Privately printed, 1941. Pp. 228. \$3.00 m/n.)

The first impression this work gives is that it contains an immense amount of detail gained from extensive search in the archives of Rome, Spain, and Peru. This impression gains in strength as one studies more and more the mass of material which the author has provided on many different subjects relating to the Jesuits and their various activities in Peru. The student of the missions will find much in the early chapters. Chapter X tells of the colleges and universities of colonial Peru. The second part of the book is a detailed listing and description of the cultural contributions of the Jesuit scholars. Each section escapes dullness by the legitimate atmosphere of the epoch which it seems to impart—an atmosphere reflecting the documents and the manuscript books which the author has had the industry and the opportunity to consult.

One might complain that the book presents no single, unified picture of colonial life and that it is extremely difficult to find any special type of information which may be desired. On the other hand, the kaleidoscopic, segmented views of Peru reveal a richness and a complexity which are no doubt more realistic than the two-dimensional pictures presented by simpler and more methodical presentations. Through his long preparation and complete dedication to the viceregal history of Peru, Padre Vargas writes with an authority and a conviction unequalled in the special field to which he devotes his efforts. No matter what one's special interest may be within the period and zone

described, a reading of this book is certain to give a certain amount of orientation as to the spirit and circumstances of the Peruvian *ambiente*.

ROBERT E. McNICOLL.

University of Habana.

Notas historicas sobre as missões carmelitanas no extremo norte do Brasil (seculos XVII e XVIII). By FR. ANDRÉ PRAT. (Recife: Privately printed, 1941. Pp. 328. Maps, illus.)

This "mesquinho ramalhete de silvestres, mas aromaticas flores" grows from the two centuries of *Vigairaria carmelitana* in and around Maranhão. While it does not pretend to be more than a somewhat antiquarian collection of historical items about the Carmelites, it does much toward writing, so far as scarce documentation allows, the ecclesiastical history of the region.

In seven parts, it describes colonization and the establishment of the order in Maranhão, with detailed and valuable reports on the property held by the order, on its houses and *aldeias*, and on its work. The fifth and seventh parts are, respectively, rolls of names and a collection of short biographies of 139 Carmelite religious.

Fr. Prat has saved later researchers much time and labor, for, in addition to printed works, he has drawn on Carmelite archives. Not too many documents remain from the period under study, but he includes a number, some now printed for the first time. Buildings still standing he shows in photographs, with reproductions of old drawings to recall those that have now vanished. His seventeenth-century Italian maps add pleasing variety if not cartographic accuracy.

ALEXANDER MARCHANT.

Apuntes para la historia de la Nueva Vizcaya: No. 2, La Ciudad de Durango, 1563-1821. By ATANASIO G. SARAVIA. (Mexico: Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia [Publicación No. 53], 1941. Pp. 245.)

In this volume Atanasio G. Saravia continues his studies regarding the province of Nueva Vizcaya and presents an account of the city of Durango during the colonial period. The work is based on sources and monographs relating to Durango and the province of Nueva Vizcaya. Local and private manuscripts as well as some from the Archivo General de la Nación were utilized. The story begins with the founding of the city by Don Francisco de Ibarra. There are notes about the governors and their families, as well as some account of their contribu-

tion to the life of the city. Much attention is given to religious history including an account of the erection of the bishopric, pen sketches of the bishops, and information regarding the convents. Indian revolts, epidemics, and glimpses of social activity are discussed. The trial and execution at Durango of the clerics who were followers of Hidalgo is an outstanding episode. The story ends with the entry of General Negrete into Durango which marked the end of Spanish rule. There are sketch maps of the city at various periods and numerous illustrations, particularly of buildings, which add to the value of the work.

ROSCOE R. HILL.

The National Archives.

October 14, 1941

Biografía de Don Francisco Javier Gamboa. Ideario político y jurídico de Nueva España en el siglo XVIII. By TORIBIO ESQUIVEL OBREGÓN. (Mexico: Talleres Gráficos Laguna, 1941. Pp. 232.)

The main purpose of the author, a lawyer, is to give a picture of juridical thought in Mexico in the eighteenth century; to that end he utilizes as his central figure Francisco Javier Gamboa, a lawyer of the viceregal period, best known for his *Comentarios a las Ordenanzas de Minas*. The substance of the volume would have been more accurately described had the sub-title and the main been reversed.

The six chapters into which the work is divided are: *El ambiente*; *El estudiante*; *El medio jurídico*; *El abogado*; *Los Comentarios a las Ordenanzas de Minas*; and *Datos complementarios*. A name index is included.

Utilizing the data of two former biographers, Antonio Alzate (*Gaceta de Literatura*, 1794) and Mariano Otero (*Museo mexicano*, II, 1843) and several newly discovered *alegatos*, the author has presented, rather than the facts of Gamboa's life, his legal contribution. Through the briefs Gamboa presented and an analysis of the *Comentarios*, Esquivel Obregón shows how the individual was caught in the meshes of the law in the course of the bitter struggle waged by state and church.

Aside from the meagerness of facts and lack of chronological sequence, as a biography it is poor; Gamboa never emerges as a man from the mazes of the law. As an introduction to juridical thought and practices in Mexico in the eighteenth century, it would have distinct interest for the lawyer or the social historian.

Among the numerous typographical errors, perhaps the most confusing are the statements that Gamboa was born in 1771 [p. 8]; that

he entered college in 1537 [p. 32]; and that two years later in 1739 he took part in a literary contest [p. 33]. Even a lawyer would find it hard to reconcile these.

J. R. SPELL.

University of Texas.

Simón Bolívar y las guerras de la independencia latinoamericana.

By WOLFRAM DIETRICH. Translated by MIGUEL CHECA SOLARI. (Santiago de Chile: Ediciones Ercilla, 1940. Pp. 262. \$25 m/n.)

Any short review of this excellent work would be inadequate. The author, a German, wrote this book in Germany, several years ago. It has now been translated into Spanish while the author is residing in Venezuela, the country that has taken him to its heart. He begins with what seems to be a psychological study of the dictator, but the reader is soon convinced that the military and political achievements of the dictator will not be slighted. Moreover, Dietrich soon shows himself a master of biographical style by his emphasis on the one great driving force of the Liberator, his fire, his passion to get things done, the very soul of Bolívar. This characteristic the reader is never allowed to forget. The other qualities of the leader, his doggedness, his constancy to the cause, his hope for victory in his worst days of defeat, are all so many elements brought in merely to emphasize the one great drive in Bolívar. This drive makes Bolívar, in Dietrich's opinion, the greatest American of history. Dietrich in respect to his style and organization must be considered a modern biographer.

Although he has added little to the known information concerning Bolívar's life, the author has used his information to produce a work of literary merit. His style is fast moving, vivid, and energetic. He uses short paragraphs (thirty in all) to enhance this vigor in organization. He cites the very best of Bolívar's statements to prove his points: e.g. "El arte de vencer se aprende en las derrotas," and "Dios concede la victoria a la constancia." A short but comprehensive bibliography adds value to the work. And perhaps most important of all, his translator puts the book into a Spanish so superior as to make the work a possible Spanish text as a reader. Hardly greater praise could be given a translator who has shared with the original author to produce a work that should be recommended to all libraries.

FRITZ L. HOFFMANN.

University of Colorado.

Xaviera Carrera Patria, Azul, Blanco y Amarillo. By SADY ZAÑARTU. (Santiago de Chile: Editorial Ercilla, 1937. Pp. 294 and index. \$20.00 m/n.)

The author of a recent biography of Lastarria and of earlier novels expressing his fondness for historical lore, devotes this volume to the sister of the Carreras. Sprightly, intellectual, ambitious and well connected, she naturally took a prominent part in the events that made her brothers conspicuous, and was to them such a competent adviser, albeit unable to avert their untimely fate, that the author fittingly makes her the symbol of the "Old Country"—the stirring years from 1811 to 1814. Misfortune was her lot after that fateful year, until the exile of O'Higgins permitted her to return to her native land. Her experiences during this trying decade and during the long years in retirement have been movingly told by Vicuña Mackenna. The present work dwells upon the brief months of triumph and the dark days of internecine strife that marked the exile. The author, a well-known contemporary poet, novelist and antiquarian, prepared himself for this task by a careful study of documentary sources and approaches it without prejudice. Nevertheless he tells a moving story.

I. J. C.

Estudios históricos. By DOMINGO AMUNÁTEGUI SOLAR. (Santiago: Ediciones de la Universidad de Chile, 1940. Pp. 154.)

The veteran annalist of Chile's colonial history still continues to be active in his chosen field. He devotes the present offering to a study of the colonial land economy of Central Chile in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and points out that the *mayorazgos* (entailed estates) of that period carried on the social and economic system initiated by the encomiendas. To this he appends a series of explanatory sketches, largely drawn from his own profound studies. His friends welcome this new addition to a long list of worthwhile offerings.

I. J. C.

José Martí, el santo de América. By LUIS RODRÍGUEZ EMBIL. (La Habana: Imprenta P. Fernández y Cia., 1941. Pp. 259.)

This book was awarded first prize at the Concurso Literario Inter-American held under the auspices of the Comisión Nacional Pro-Monumento a Martí, and was published by the same organization. As the title suggests, the author is mainly interested in stressing Martí's

religious convictions and his prophetic and intuitive genius. To Rodríguez Embil, Martí is a truly American saint, the greatest saint since Santa Rosa de Lima. There are in him those rare qualities found in mystics and prophets whose psychic experience border on the supernatural: the sense of a high spiritual task to be fulfilled, a deep religious fervor, an overflowing love for their fellowmen, and the power to foresee the shape of things to come. One has to add in Martí's peculiar case the crowning achievement of his life: his death under the clear Cuban sky at Dos Ríos.

Rodríguez Embil's approach to the adventurous and dramatic life of José Julián Martí is permeated with the influence of the author's own readings on oriental philosophy. He finds in Martí that peace of mind and love of synthesis which characterize oriental mysticism. Martí, according to him, felt the presence of the great power that dominates the world and was impelled to a heroic mission by an irresistible force. The thesis is too far stressed. Rodríguez Embil himself admits that he does not have any information on the oriental books which Martí read during his lifetime. And to a person less imbued with the teachings of the oriental philosophers, there are certain objections which can be raised to this novel approach. As a matter of fact, Martí was more of a Spanish mystic, though his ideas were influenced by the secular philosophy of his age. There are numerous references in Martí's writings which reveal his essential Christian outlook on life. He is close, indeed, to the great Spanish mystics of the Golden Age: to Santa Teresa, whom he affectionately quotes—as Rodríguez Embil himself points out; to San Juan de la Cruz, whose poetry has the fervor and crystalline quality of Martí's own; and to San Ignacio de Loyola, whom he resembles in his untiring energy in organizing and developing a great human movement.

In spite of this far-fetched thesis, Rodríguez Embil's book is a noteworthy contribution to Martiana. It has some fine chapters on the peculiar psychology of the great Cuban, written in a lyrical and poetic style which becomes at times rather monotonous in its sustained rhetorical tempo. Though one would hesitate to include this book on the same historical and literary level with Jorge Mañach's and Mauricio Magdaleno's biographical studies, it is, no doubt, fresh evidence of the deep veneration in which Martí's memory is held by his fellow countrymen.

ARTURO MORALES.

Washington, D. C.

Fulgor de Martí. By MAURICIO MAGDALENO. (México: Ediciones Botas, 1941. Pp. 283. \$5.00 m/n.)

This book is Magdaleno's first adventure into the realm of biographical studies. As a novelist, the author is to be remembered for his remarkable work "El Resplandor"—a dramatic portrayal of Indian life in Mexico written in that rich and vehement style which has won him a place of high distinction in contemporary Mexican letters.

The present book does not pretend to be an impartial and factual sketch of José Julián Martí. Magdaleno is not interested in discussing new sources nor in examining conflicting data with a critical eye. He disparages the bookworm tactics, the objective scholarly approach, the mere exposition of cold facts. Instead, he expresses an unrestrained admiration for Martí in a vivid, baroque style, reminiscent of Martí's own prose. The book is thus a tribute to the great Cuban patriot paid by one of his foremost contemporary disciples.

In the amazing series of biographical studies on José Julián Martí, Magdaleno's book deserves a leading place. It has a certain poetic fervor and intensity of feeling which are not found in the average biography of the last of the great liberators. And though Magdaleno's method is more that of the novelist than of the so-called "trained historian," there is ample evidence to show that he has gone deep into the study of primary sources. His chapter on Martí's visit to Mexico is a striking illustration. The author does not merely concern himself with Martí's own life, but also paints a vivid picture of the transition era between the rule of Juárez and the iron fist of Porfirio Díaz. The decay of the romantic tradition and the beginnings of positivism characterize the cultural trends of this epoch in Mexican history. Into that background, Martí injected his new literary ideas and his spiritual outlook on life and art. He sowed the seeds of the modernist revolution which brought such fine results to Hispanic-American letters. And above all, he developed a new love for America.

It is this continental patriotism which appeals most to Magdaleno in describing the heroic life of José Martí, who, as a true citizen of the New World, felt that he had a message to give to all its countries. Martí distrusted the expansionist policies of the United States and the feverish material activity of the young nation at the end of the nineteenth century. But even as he warned of these dangers, he foresaw the need of a permanent rapprochement between the United States and the Hispanic nations to the south. No finer pages have been written on Emerson and Whitman in the Spanish language than Martí's own—a sign that he understood and appreciated the spiritual values of the civilization of the United States.

It is to Magdaleno's credit that, in bringing forth these facts, he emphasizes that feeling of continental solidarity which is perhaps the finest phase of Martí's proteic genius.

ARTURO MORALES.

Washington, D. C.

Legazpi, el conquistador de Filipinas. By JOSÉ SANZ Y DÍAZ. [Biblioteca de Marinos Españoles]. (Barcelona: Ediciones Patria, 1940. Pp. 187. 7 pesetas.)

This small volume is the first in a series of twelve biographical studies sponsored by the Spanish Minister for the Navy. Occasionally annotated and intended for a general reading public, it pays tribute to the courage and tenacity displayed by Legazpi in making an important contribution to Spain's overseas expansion. Comparatively little attention is devoted to the government official's earlier life in Spain and Mexico, the book dealing chiefly with the conquest of the Philippines, an undertaking which Legazpi began seven years before his death. The colonial pioneer's accomplishments in the vast archipelago, terminating with the founding of Manila in 1571, are traced in an interesting fashion by the author. At the end there is a standard though not exhaustive bibliography.

JAMES K. EYRE, JR.

The Library of Congress.

El pasado prehistórico del Gran Perú (Alto y Bajo Perú). By ARTHUR POSNANSKY. (La Paz: Imprenta El Trabajo, 1940. Pp. 54, v. \$3.00 m/n.)

This is a collection of four short papers, taking its title from the first. As a central theme the evolution of American native races and their culture in the Andean area is familiar to those who know the author's previous contributions.

The title article explains the great monuments of the coast and highland Andean region as the product of enforced labor of a subservient "Aruwak" race (physically, rather than linguistically determined), under the domination of a proud and energetic group of "Khollas." Statues newly discovered near Tiahuanaco are taken to represent early Kholla physical type. Illustrations of these will be of interest to specialists in Andean archaeology.

In the second article the theory of indigenous human evolution in the New World is presented, with emphasis on the supposed antiquity and early cultural preëminence of Tiahuanaco. The third section

postulates the spread of Tiahuanaco culture, expressed by the presence of the "Signo Escalonado," or step design, as a substratum which gave rise to the civilizations of Central America and Mexico.

The fourth paper, presenting some new illustrative material on the site of Chuju-perkha (Chocupercas), is an exposition of the author's theory of the pre-glacial chronological position of early Tiahuanaco culture.

Professor Posnansky's theories have not been generally accepted by Americanists, and their present reiteration, without supporting evidence, is not likely to alter the overwhelming consensus of archaeological opinion either in this country or in South America.

ALFRED KIDDER, II.

Harvard University.

Os Judeus. By EVARISTO DE MORAES. Com prefacio de Antonio Piccarolo e Introdução de Evaristo de Moraes Filho. (São Paulo: Civilização Brasileira, S. A., distribuidores, 1940. Pp. 157.)

This book is by an eminent Brazilian jurist and lawyer who died recently. According to the information contained in the Introduction, Evaristo de Moraes was interested in the Jewish question for many years and collected a good deal of material he intended to use in a book on the subject. This book unfortunately he was never able to write.

The material now published includes a few scattered notes gleaned by the author from readings on the contribution of the Jews to the economic development of Brazil, on Antonio José, a talented playwright born in Brazil in the early part of the eighteenth century of Jewish parents, and a few remarks on the Dreyfus question and the modern anti-Semitic sentiment.

R. D'E.

The George Washington University.

Guide to Libraries and Archives in Central America and the West Indies, Panama, Bermuda, and British Guiana. By ARTHUR E. GROPP. (New Orleans: Middle American Research Institute, The Tulane University of Louisiana, 1941, Pp. xv, 721.)

Impressed by the lack of information concerning libraries and archives in the Central American and Caribbean area, the Middle American Research Institute of the Tulane University of Louisiana set about to remedy the situation. The result is the present volume which affords a survey of these institutions in the five Central Amer-

ican republics, Panama, Cuba, Haiti, Santo Domingo, the English and French colonies, and the territories of the United States which comprise the region. In two field surveys, 433 days were spent in the various political units during which time 337 public libraries and archives were visited. In addition, 60 private and rental libraries, as well as 141 book binding, book selling and printing establishments, were inspected. Information on institutions not visited brings the total entries up to 1045.

The entries are made under the countries, arranged alphabetically, with the French Colonies, British Colonies, and United States Territories grouped under these three headings. For each political unit there are five sections, *viz.* (1) libraries, (2) archives, (3) book binding, (4) book selling, and (5) printing. The account devoted to each political unit has an introduction dealing briefly with the geography, economic situation, industry, budget, schools, and transportation facilities. The section on libraries begins with a short general statement, and that on archives has some account of the history of the region and the organization of its administration. The libraries are listed under the names of the cities and each entry contains such of the following information as was readily available: The name of the librarian, historical statement, description of the locale, furniture, finances, staff, service, collection, and organization of the collection. Similar information for the archives includes the name of the archivist, historical statement, description of the housing facilities, manner in which the documents are preserved, and summary of the types of records. The amount of space and the details as to materials in the libraries and archives vary greatly in the several entries. Particular note is made of rare and important printed items for each region described. In some cases, quite complete descriptions of the documents in the archives are included.

Less attention was given to the book binding, book selling, and printing establishments, since the information about them is more sketchy. For example, under Cuba the entry for book binding is as follows: "The writer did not have an opportunity to investigate binding establishments. Ten such places were listed in the telephone directory of Cuba (1938) under the heading 'Encuadernaciones y Rayados.' "

The footnotes give authorities for statements and bibliographical references. A bibliography of pertinent materials and an index are appended. There are a number of excellent illustrations reproduced from photographs taken by the author. A few errors in Spanish words were noted. The large type and the format of the volume have resulted

in a pleasing but ponderous tome. Three pages of the introduction are devoted to acknowledgments, thus revealing the large number of persons who were consulted and who furnished helpful information.

Libraries and students interested in the Caribbean and Central American areas will find the Guide a useful reference work.

The National Archives.

ROSCOE R. HILL.

A Bibliography of Pacific Area Maps. By CLIFFORD H. MACFADDEN . . . with an introduction by ROBERT BURNELL HALL. [Studies of the Pacific, No. 6.] (San Francisco, New York and Honolulu: American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1941. [Printed by Kelly and Walsh, Ltd., Shanghai, China.] 3 p. l. Pp. v-xxiii, 107; double page maps on each end paper and its facing leaf. \$1.50.)

This work is "a select annotated bibliography of the maps of the Pacific basin lands." Items listed are "of recent date, fairly general in character, restricted for the most part to the western Pacific lands, and fairly readily available to American users in some accessible collection or by purchase." The Americas are "included only to the extent of describing the most usable existing detail sheets and one or two general maps for each political unit of importance." Periodical publications are included, but historical maps are mentioned only if part of a general atlas. The copy used is located.

The two hundred and ninety items (some of them being general groups which are also listed in separate parts) were issued by private and public agencies of many nations, including the Russian, Chinese, and Japanese. Languages used are indicated and titles are translated from the Slavic or Oriental. The Latin-American items include some published in those countries and slightly known elsewhere. The Philippines: Nos. 201-206; Mexico, Central America, and South America: Nos. 263-290.

ROLAND DENNIS HUSSEY.

University of California,
Los Angeles.

A Bibliographical Guide to Materials on American Spanish. Edited for the Committee on Latin-American Studies of the American Council of Learned Societies by MADALINE W. NICHOLS. Advisory Editors: AMADO ALONSO, HAYWARD KENISTON, and TOMÁS NAVARRO-TOMÁS. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1941. Pp. 114. \$1.50.)

"This *Guide* lists the outstanding studies on the Spanish language in the several Spanish American countries. It includes a brief his-

torical account of the growth of an American Spanish; a special section on the work of the American language academies and philological institutes; and approximately twelve hundred annotated entries, covering general studies of the language of each country, dictionaries and vocabularies of local terms, words borrowed from other languages, geographical nomenclature, and flora and fauna."

The list of philological organizations would not have been much longer had it included unofficial societies, some much more alive than the official ones, such as La Sociedad Argentina de Estudios Lingüísticos (whose official organ, *Por nuestro idioma*, in its sixth year, was consulted for item #463), and *el grupo sentral de ortógrafos rebolucionarios* (whose organ, *orto-gráfico*, now in its ninth year of regular bi-weekly publications, goes to group members throughout the world).¹

Though the *Guide* gives eight items by Amado Nervo, the section on orthography omits Nervo's famous plea, in *La cuestión de la ortografía*, for a reform in Spanish to eliminate the confusion of *c*, *z*, and *s*; *b* and *v*; and silent *h*. Of the 26 items on orthography, 19 deal with Chileans. No Argentinian appears, such as V. Lillo Catalán, director of *La revista americana de Buenos Aires*; and the one Mexican is unfortunately not the outstanding champion of phonetic orthography, Alberto M. Brambila, who has devoted his life and fortune to that cause.

Arturo Torres-Ríosco's excellent *Glosario* is mentioned (#346); but not those in Lister and Richardson's *La gringa*, by Florencio Sánchez;² Englekirk and Kiddle's *Los de abajo*, by Mariano Azuela;³ and Hespelt's *El indio*, by Gregorio López y Fuentes.⁴

Two omissions under Mexican Toponomia are: F. Ibarra de Anda's *Geonimia indígena mexicana* (México, 1932) and José María Arreola's *Nombres indígenas de lugares del estado de Jalisco: Estudios etimológicos*. Guadalajara, 1935.

A slight misprint occurs on p. 110, after Dávila Garibi, José Ignacio, where it should read: 983-984, 994-995.

This *Guide* is a "must" for any serious study in the field, being indispensable for libraries and scholars wishing dependable bibliographical references in the field of Spanish-American linguistics. Dr. Nichols has made a valuable contribution in a unique field. Incidentally this book constitutes a first step by the Committee on Latin-American Studies toward the possible eventual undertaking of a

¹ See *Handbook of Latin-American Studies* (1937), p. 398 and item No. 3440.

² Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1927.

³ F. S. Crofts & Co., New York, 1939.

⁴ W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., New York, 1940.

Dictionary of the Spanish of the Americas, a much to be desired project.

LEAVITT O. WRIGHT.

University of Oregon.

Manual of Spanish Constitutions, 1808-1931. Translation and Introduction by ARNOLD R. VERDUIN. (Ypsilanti, Michigan: University Lithoprinters, 1941. Pp. iv, 99.)

This handbook of factual information regarding the constitutions of Spain is the result of "sober research," which, in the words of Professor Aiton's foreword, is in pleasant contrast to the "veritable deluge of frothy interpretation and unsupported generalization" resulting from the "current fervid interest in Latin America."

There is no doubt about the value of this manual. It gives one an opportunity to study the evolution of the theory of government in Spain, but need not give a true picture of how Spain was governed. Students will, however, appreciate having this English translation of the Spanish text.

Altogether ten constitutions are reproduced, beginning with the one inspired by Napoleon in 1808, the Bayonne Constitution, and ending with the Constitution of 1931. Each is preceded by a brief introduction (less than a page), giving its historical setting and a few words about its origin. Footnotes follow the titles of each constitution, indicating the source of the translations and other texts used for comparisons. A running title on the top of the page serves instead of a table of contents.

JOHN RYDJORD.

University of Wichita.

Mexican Government Documents. By ANNITA MELVILLE KER. (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1940. Pp. xxii, 333. \$1.25.)

The subtitle of the volume, *A Guide to the More Important Publications of the National Government of Mexico, 1821-1936*, indicates the purpose and scope of the work. In compiling this exhaustive bibliography of source material the author has searched in the United States the Library of Congress, the Bancroft Library of the University of California, the Columbus Memorial Library of the Pan American Union, the New York Public Library, and various university libraries. In Mexico she utilized over a score of library and archive collections.

The volume comprises first the so-called *Diario oficial* or Official

Gazette which has appeared under various titles and covers official decrees, laws and at times the transactions of the Congress and miscellaneous matters.

The next section is devoted to the legislative branch. This includes the transactions of various unicameral legislative bodies, the *Transactions* (*Diarios de los Debates*) of the Chamber of Deputies and the corresponding publication of the Senate (*Diarios de los Debates de la Cámara de Senadores*). This section also includes the Directories of the General Congress, the Chamber and the Senate, the Rules and Regulations of the General Congress, and the transactions of the Permanent Committee.

The third and largest section covers the executive branch. A brief introduction gives a sketch of the development of the presidential office and its various incumbents. All presidential messages are listed and these are followed by the *Memorias* or *Reports* of the various executive secretariats. More than two thirds of the book is devoted to this division.

The work concludes with a very brief notice of the judicial branch including a list of the available reports of the president of the Supreme Court.

This work makes readily available to the scholar a complete picture of Mexican official publications and the author deserves and will receive the grateful acknowledgment of all future research workers in this field.

GRAHAM STUART.

Stanford University.

Documents on American Foreign Relations. Vol. III, July 1940-June 1941. Edited by S. SHEPARD JONES and DENYS P. MYERS. (Boston: World Peace Foundation, 1941. Pp. xl, 805. \$3.75.)

This, the third volume in the new annual collection of contemporary documents, is an improvement over the two preceding volumes. Most contemporary public documents on international affairs are excessively wordy. The editors have eliminated much of this sort of thing by the use of excerpts. The procedure could be carried still further in future volumes.

The problem of selecting contemporary documents is a difficult one. The real significance of a given document in foreign affairs is frequently not apparent to contemporaries. Nevertheless, the editors of this volume have at least succeeded in making their selection comprehensive.

The section on "Inter-American Relations" covers: the Havana conference of July, 1940; problems affecting the control of European possessions in the Western Hemisphere; the coffee marketing agreement; financial relations with the Latin-American states; discussions on problems of mutual defense; cultural relations, and diplomatic correspondence in the boundary dispute between Ecuador and Peru.

In addition to these Latin-American materials there are extensive sections covering American foreign policy in the Far East, and in Europe including the Near and Middle East. A chapter on trade, and another on finance contain statistical material of value. There is a special section entitled "National Action" which includes documents on neutrality, national defense, the organization of the Department of State, and the foreign service.

PAUL H. CLYDE.

Duke University.

Acuerdos del Consejo de Gobierno de la República de Colombia. Vol. I, 1821-1824. Dirigida por ENRIQUE ORTEGA RICAURTE. (Bogotá: Talleres de la Imprenta Municipal, 1940. Paper cover. Pp. xiv, 417.)

This is the first volume of a memorial publication by the Cabildo de Bogotá to honor General Francisco de Paula Santander for his notable administration as vice-president of the Republic of Colombia from 1821 to 1827. It was issued on August 7, 1940, the one hundred and twenty-first anniversary of the Battle of Boyacá.

Article 133 in the Constitution of Cúcuta authorized Simón Bolívar, president of the Republic of Colombia, to maintain a Consejo de Gobierno. During the historical period which this volume spans, the "Council of Government" was composed of General Francisco de Paula Santander, vice-president of the Republic; José Félix de Restrepo, representative of the High Court of Justice; José Manuel Restrepo, minister of the interior; Pedro Gual, minister of foreign affairs; José María Castillo y Rada, minister of the treasury; and Colonel Pedro Briceño Méndez, minister of war and navy. Article 134 defined the eleven specific occasions upon which the President might solicit an opinion from this advisory body. In any case he was not bound to abide by its decisions. Article 135 enjoined the Council to keep *un registro* of its meetings and to transmit annually an exact copy to the Senate "excepting confidential business when there is a necessity for reserve." Such is the origin of this eloquent record left by a group of men who, during the nascency of Colombian his-

tory, deliberated to the best of their ability upon issues of war and peace, and of domestic and foreign concern.

The constitutional history of the *Consejo de Gobierno* from 1812 to 1923 is succinctly delineated by Jorge Soto del Corral in the preface. An analytical name index and distinctive portraits of the six council members are two other features which deserve mention.

Duke University Library.

GUSTAVE A. NUERMBERGER.

Constitución de Cuba. By ANDRÉS MA LAZCANO Y MAZÓN. (Habana: Cultural, S. A., 1941. 3 vols. Pp. xvi, 723 and 758. \$5.00 each.)

This is an unofficial publication of the 1940 constitution of the Republic of Cuba. It is not merely a reprint of the text. With regard to the Cuban constitution, Dr. Lazcano has rendered the service which Madison did for the United States constitution only in a more complete manner.

After the text of each provision, the author has assembled the comments made and the debates engaged in concerning the particular provision. Here are set forth the reasons for the provisions, the historical precedents, past and present evils to be corrected. In short, whatever took place or was said which throws light on the meaning and proper interpretation is recorded.

Volume II of the study will be of greater interest to the student of Cuban constitutional history. Here are to be found the provisions dealing with labor, property and the family, provisions in which the most important innovations have been made.

This excellent study, along with Dr. Barreras' *Textos de las constituciones de Cuba* (Habana, 1940), constitute excellent sources for the study of Cuban political life and development. The organization of the material, the use of a variety of type in printing, and a well-done analytical index made this publication a most ready reference book.

W. M. G.

Catálogo de construcciones religiosas del estado de Hidalgo. Formado por la comisión de inventarios de la primera zona, 1929-1932. Introducción de MANUEL TOUSSAINT. Recopilación de JUSTINO FERNÁNDEZ. Vol. I. Published by the Secretaría de Hacienda y Crédito Público, Dirección General de Bienes Nacionales. (Mexico: Talleres Gráficos de la Nación, 1940. Pp. xlviii, 584 [24]. 131 plates. Map. Indexes. Paper.)

All lands and buildings for religious use have been Federal property in Mexico since the Reform of 1857. These properties are docu-

mented in the Dirección de Bienes Nacionales in the National Palace of Mexico City. Students desiring to work in these files have already received a gracious welcome, but the present publication offers a systematic treatment far more ample than that available in the archive. The method, the comprehensive treatment, and the clarity of presentation make this series one of the most important surveys of architectural monuments undertaken by any modern government. If completed, and extended to secular architecture, the Mexican *Catálogo* will compare more than favorably with the publications of the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments in England.

A staff of more than thirty-five historians, architects, draughtsmen and government officials participated in the preparation of this first volume. The second volume is already in press, and it is earnestly hoped that the Mexican government will complete the nation-wide program. The materials for the states of Yucatán and Campeche are already in shape for publication, and their appearance depends upon the continuation of the admirable Commission that was appointed in 1929.

The foreword by Manuel Toussaint provides a compact, detailed, and indispensable contribution to the study of Mexican colonial archaeology. Many virtues of the book are directly to be attributed to the guiding hand of the compiler, Justino Fernández, who is a member of the Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas. The literary form of the descriptive and historical texts is the work of Fernández, as well as the detailed and legible style of the plans and many other drawings.

It could be desired that future volumes of the series will contain a chronological table of the monuments, and that the quality of the reproductions of the photographs may be somewhat improved.

Yale University.

GEORGE KUBLER.

Some Aspects of the Jumano Problem. By FRANCE V. SCHOLES and H. P. MERA. [Contributions to American Anthropology and History, No. 34.] (Reprinted from Carnegie Institution of Washington Publication 523. June 10, 1940. Pp. 265-299. Four text figures.)

This publication contains two separate attacks upon the same problem. The archaeological section by H. P. Mera and the documentary treatment by F. V. Scholes show a substantial area of agreement. Both writers' remarks upon the ethnographic and demographic significance of the term *Jumano* clarify what has been an impenetrable tangle, at least for the reviewer, who has had to deal with the colonial architec-

tural problem on the eastern fringe of the Pueblo area. Much new material on the seventeenth-century history of the Jumano pueblos is offered by Mr. Scholes. Some paragraphs pertain to the little-known events in the Salinas area during the disastrous decade of the 1670's. His remarks also amplify Sauer's position with regard to Suma-Jumano affinities.

In Mera's section, the publication of four plans of sites with Puebloid or *ranchería* form fills a great need in the student's equipment. Mera also gives a concise and accurate archaeological history of the basic undecorated brown wares. A joint conclusion by the two authors might have increased the manifest value of the pair of articles.

GEORGE KUBLER.

Yale University.

Fiestas y costumbres mexicanas. By HIGINIO VÁSQUEZ SANTA ANA. (México: Ediciones Botas, 1940. Pp. 381.)

This miscellany records some matters of folklore and popular custom classified chiefly geographically according to states of the Mexican Union. The material is presented without reference to any scientific or historical problem, and with little sense of critical responsibility. The "Pine-nic," or "Comida campestre," is described as a custom of the State of Campeche.

ROBERT REDFIELD.

University of Chicago.

An Apache Life-way. The Economic, Social, and Religious Institutions of the Chiricahua Indians. By MORRIS E. OPLER. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1941. Pp. xvii, 500. Illustrated. \$5.00.)

When the stubborn leader Gerónimo surrendered at Skeleton Canyon in 1886, bringing to a close a quarter century of Indian warfare in the Southwest, his Chiricahua Apaches were rounded up by a relieved government intent on "solving" another Indian problem in the manner customary at the time. From their barren and inhospitable territories in southern Arizona and New Mexico and northern Sonora and Chihuahua, the Chiricahua were shipped east to enjoy the benign climate of Florida. Hardly thriving even there, they were soon removed and eventually sent to Oklahoma where finally in 1913 they were recognized officially as no longer prisoners of war of the United States. Now they are settled, a few in Oklahoma, a majority with the Lipan and Mescalero Apache in southern New Mexico, still to the east

and outside of their old range to which as a tribe they will apparently never return.

Here Dr. Opler, with colleagues who have made their material available to him, has worked and studied with them intensively during the past decade, gathering the data which serve as the basis for this excellent account of their way of life as it was experienced during the youth of men still living. This is the only available detailed and comprehensive account of an Apache tribe and at the same time it provides one of the most intelligent descriptions of an American aboriginal culture which we have. Fortunately it is to be followed by studies of the three related Apache tribes, the Mescalero, Lipan, and Jicarilla.

The author has intentionally avoided any elaborate discussion of historical problems in this work. Since the Chiricahua share a reservation with the Mescalero and both tribes have been similarly exposed to cultural influences from Mexico, the United States, and from other tribes, Opler is postponing an account of the history and present effects of such influences until the aboriginal culture of the Mescalero has been described. The present work, however, is preceded by a brief sketch of the recent history of the tribe.

The orientation and organization of the book reflect the methods and interests with which modern anthropologists are concerned. "I have endeavored," the author says, "to show how a person becomes a Chiricahua as well as to indicate what he does because he is a Chiricahua." Accordingly, Opler begins his description of the culture with an account of the experiences of childhood, as they can still be observed or as they are remembered by informants. He describes the immediate environment of the child and the patterned events through which a person matures—the rituals, the disciplines, the games, the relations with close kin. The young Indian and the reader are thus supposed to grow up together and to experience in some degree a similar appreciation of the adult culture which is described in the latter part of the book. The attempt, of course, can be only partially successful, and yet it is worth while as well for the layman as for the professional student interested in the processes involved in the acquisition of adult cultures.

Material equipment and technical skills, rituals and myths are described in context as the need arises, so that there is a minimum of that artificial taxonomy of cultural elements which can so easily kill an account of a people's way of life. Likewise, the author has wisely refrained from burdening his text with a host of native terms which become a nightmare for most readers and are of little help to specialists, for whom, in this case anyway, a Chiricahua dictionary will soon be available. The whole account is documented with a wealth of

material translated directly from informants' statements, the only flaw being that individual informants are not identified by some key so that each particular source of information could be known.

This study has obviously been made with great care and in a scholarly manner and it is here presented with considerable skill and in a most readable form. It can be recommended to students of culture in general, to Americanists, and to those primarily interested in our Spanish Southwest and the adjoining region of Old Mexico, an area in which the Apache culture has played so prominent a role.

LAURISTON SHARP.

Cornell University.

NOTES AND COMMENT

THE HISTORICITY OF THE 1494 DISCOVERY OF SOUTH AMERICA*

THE THACHER MANUSCRIPT ON COLUMBUS

In 1903 John Boyd Thacher, a book-collector of Albany, New York, and long a student of Columbus and his period, bought an important early manuscript bearing on the discovery of America. In 1907 he sent it to W. C. Lane, of the Harvard University Library, in the hope that someone in the history department of the University might care to edit it for publication. Librarians all too often are obliged to bring over-enthusiastic collectors gently down to earth. In this instance Mr. Lane and his assistant, Mr. Tillinghast, drew up a careful table of contents showing that most of the manuscript had already been printed in one place or another, much of it in the magnificent *Raccolta Colombiana* put out by the Italian Columbian Commission in 1892. Only one small section, on folios 68-71, could not be found anywhere in print, and this, Mr. Lane thought, would repay further study. "If you will let me keep the manuscript until next fall," he wrote to Thacher, "someone may appear who would like to investigate this point." Three years went by, and no such person had appeared. By 1910 Thacher had died, the manuscript was sent back to his widow, and she deposited it in the Library of Congress, to which she later bequeathed it.¹

There are several small ironies connected with this story. One is that the little section on folios 68-71 really had been published in 1892 in the *Raccolta* of the Italian Columbian Commission, but in such a way that it was hard to find and its significance was completely obscured.² Another irony is that, whereas Harvard kept the manuscript for three years without investigating it further, the Library of Con-

* This paper was read before the Bibliographical Society of America at its meeting in Boston on June 23, 1941.

¹ The correspondence on this subject in the Harvard Archive was made available to me through the kindness of Mr. William A. Jackson, of the Harvard College Library.

² *Raccolta Colombiana*, I (1892), Pt. 3, pp. 75-77. The account is inserted in Angelo Trevisan's translation of Peter Martyr at such a point that it seems to bear on the third voyage (1498).

gress kept it a quarter of a century. But the crowning irony is that the little section on folios 68-71, which Lane and Tillinghast came so near to investigating, turns out to be the sole existing copy of an ostensible account of the Spanish discovery of the South American mainland in 1494, four years before its discovery by Columbus himself. If this ostensible account should prove to be authentic, then these folios 68-71 are the most important bit of Columbian material now in existence in the Americas.

THE STORY OF THE FIVE CARAVELS

Is it, however, authentic? Since coming to realize the possibilities which this section contains, I have tried to test out various aspects of it, including the textual relations of the manuscript, the reasons for dating it in or very soon after 1503, the geographical features of the supposed voyage, and its relation to certain early maps.⁸ The Thacher Manuscript is apparently a first-hand copy of a series of documents collected in 1501 and 1502 by Angelo Trevisan, a young secretary in the Venetian embassy to Spain and Portugal. He found the documents in various languages, translated them into Italian, and from time to time sent them back to Venice. The first four installments contained Peter Martyr's account of the early voyages of Columbus and those of two of his aides. Later installments described certain Portuguese voyages to India and elsewhere. And then, from some unnamed source, Trevisan procured the little six-page narrative about the voyage to South America and sent it on to his correspondent in Venice, explaining that it had been inadvertently left out of the earlier story about Columbus. South America is of course not named but is clearly intended. The narrative tells how Columbus sent out five caravels from the island of Hispaniola to the southeast and then southwest, until in twelve days they reached a rich pearl-fishery, and how they later sailed westward for 2500 miles along that coast, and finally, by an undesignated route, came back to Columbus on Hispaniola. The journey began on September 28 and ended on November 14 of an unspecified year, which is indirectly indicated as 1494.

⁸ W. J. Wilson, "A Narrative of the Discovery of Venezuela (1494?) in the Thacher Manuscript on Columbus and Early Portuguese Navigations," *Proceedings of the Inter-American Bibliographical and Library Association*, III (1940), 279-300 (reviewed in *Geographical Journal*, XCIV (1940), p. 148; *idem*, "The Textual Relations of the Thacher Manuscript on Columbus and Early Portuguese Navigations," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, XXXIV (1940), 199-220 (both publications reviewed by L. C. Wroth in *Geographical Review*, XXXI (1941), 171-172; *idem*, "The Spanish Discovery of the South American Mainland," *Geographical Review*, XXXI (1941), 283-299.

The present paper aims to investigate the historical connections of this story. Does it fit into what is known of the circumstances of 1494? Does it even help to explain previously known events? As Trevisan records it, the narrative contains two outstanding features, namely, the finding of pearls and the discovery of a continent. What, we may ask, do the journals and reports of Columbus have to say on these two points before the autumn of 1494?

THE QUEST FOR PEARLS

Even on the first voyage there were recurrent rumors from the natives as to a great and wealthy region lying to the south. On October 13, 1492, the day after he discovered his first island, Columbus wrote in his *Journal*: "I was able to understand by signs that, if one went to the south or went around this island to the south, there was a king who had large vessels of gold and who had a great deal of it"; also that some of the neighboring tribes at times came past this present place on their way "to the southwest in search of gold and precious stones."⁴ On October 26 he set out for Cuba, because the Indians told him there were gold and pearls there.⁵ On October 28 he saw mussels,

⁴ *Raccolta*, I, Pt. 1, p. 18, lines 5-14: "Y yo estaba atento y trabajava de saber si avía oro . . . y por señas pude entender que, yendo al sur, ó bolviendo la isla por el sur, que estaba allí un rey, que tenía grandes vasos d'ello y tenía muy mucho. . . . Según muchos d'ellos me enseñaron . . . estas del noroeste les venían á combatir muchas veces, y así yr al sudueste, á buscar el oro y piedras preciosas." For passages from the *Journal* of the first voyage I have usually followed the English rendering in J. B. Thacher, *Christopher Columbus* (3 vols., New York and London, 1903), I, 513-670.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 30: "Partió de allí para Cuba, porque por las señas que los Yndios le davan de la grandeza y del oro y perlas d'ella, pensava que era ella, conviene á saber Cipango." The preconceived ideas with which Columbus approached Cuba are seen in the closing section of the letter of Toscanelli to Columbus. The Latin, the Spanish of Las Casas, and an English translation are given by Thacher, *op. cit.*, I, 306, 312. It reads in part: "The most magnificent and mighty city of Quinsay . . . is in the neighborhood of the province of Cathay, in which land is the royal residence. But from the Island of Antilla known to you, to the most noble Island of Cipango, are ten spaces [indicated previously as of 250 miles each]; for this island is most rich in gold, pearls, and precious stones, and they cover the temples and palaces with solid gold." The authenticity of the Toscanelli-Martins-Columbus correspondence, long regarded by many scholars with justifiable suspicion, is greatly strengthened if not absolutely established by Sebastiano Crinò, *La scoperta della carta originale di Paolo dal Pozzo Toscanelli che servì di guida a Cristoforo Colombo per il viaggio verso il Nuovo Mondo*, in *L'Universo*, XXII, No. 6 (June, 1941), 32 pp., 3 plates, including a colored facsimile of the map (Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, Port. N. 1). Since this map of 1457 was admittedly somewhat revised in the copy sent to Fernan Martins in 1474, we do not have even now in full detail the map used by Columbus.

which he said were a good indication that there were pearls to be had.⁶ On October 29 he entered a river harbor in which he thought "the water suitable for the growth of pearls."⁷ On November 16 he found some of his captive Indians fishing and ordered them to "search for *nácaras*, which are the oysters in which pearls are formed, and they found many of them, but no pearls."⁸ His explanation was that it was probably the wrong season, the right time being May or June. This is a most peculiar idea, and its source is not given. Did the natives tell him there was a season for pearls? Or did he somehow misunderstand what they were trying to say?⁹ This seems to have ended, at least for the first voyage, all effort to locate any fisheries of pearls, though suggestions continue to be recorded as to where gold might be found.

NATIVE REPORTS OF A CONTINENT TO THE SOUTH

On the first voyage there were also numerous reports of a continent to the west or south. As early as October 28, 1492, while on the northern coast of Cuba, Columbus understood that the mainland was ten days' journey distant, but the direction is not indicated.¹⁰ Since at that stage of his explorations he thought that Cuba was Japan and that ships of the Great Khan were wont to come there, the implied direction would be west. On January 6, 1493, he was told of another island called Yamaye (evidently Jamaica) lying just south of Cuba, and from there the natives said it was about a ten days' voyage by canoe to the mainland (*tierra firme*), where the inhabitants wore clothes.¹¹ In this case the direction was clearly southward. He esti-

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 31, lines 20-22: "Dezían los Yndios que en aquella ysla avía minas de oro y perlas, y vido el almirante lugar apto para elllas, y almejas, qu'es señal d'ellas."

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 32, lines 22-24: "Toda aquella mar dize que le parece que deve ser siempre mansa como el río de Sevilla, y el agua aparejada para criar perlas."

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 43, lines 5-9: "Halló los Yndios, que consigo traya, que pescavan caracoles muy grandes, que en aquellas mares ay; y hizo entrar la gente allí, é buscar si avía nácaras, que son las hostras donde crían las perlas; y hallaron muchas, pero no perlas, y attribuyólo á que no devía de ser el tiempo d'ellas, que creya él que era por mayo y junio."

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 31, lines 22-24: "Y entendía el almirante que allí venían naos del gran can, y grandes, y que de allí á tierra firme avía jornada de diez días."

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 91, lines 31-35: "Tambien diz que supo detrás de la isla Joana [i.e., Cuba], de la parte del sur, ay otra isla grande, en que ay muy mayor cantidad de oro que en esta . . . llamávase, diz que, aquella isla 'Yamaye' . . . y que aquella isla Española ó la otra isla Yamaye estaba cerca de tierra firme diez jornadas de canoa, que podia ser sesenta ó setenta leguas, y que era la gente vestida allí." On the estimated distance across the Caribbean, see below, footnote 22.

mated that the distance might be sixty or seventy leagues (some two hundred modern miles), which is just about the width of the Caribbean at its narrowest point. If there was any mention of pearl-fisheries in that southern continent, Columbus keeps the fact to himself.

A few days later, as he was about to leave the eastern end of Hispaniola and strike out for Spain, four young Indians gave him so circumstantial an account of the cannibalistic Caribs, and of their islands lying farther along in that same chain, that he decided to take the youths to Castile with him.¹¹ A native interpreter, though probably not one of these four, returned with the Admiral on his second voyage, which made its landfall at Dominica in the midst of the Lesser Antilles. He spent some time on Guadalupe and other islands and found them inhabited by cannibals, as his Indian informers had said. He may have been tempted to turn southward and test their other assertion about a continent where the inhabitants wore clothes, but as an administrator Columbus felt obliged first of all to return to the colonists whom he had left at Fort Navidad. If there was also in the back of his mind any notion that he was already too late this year for a May and June pearl-fishing season, no hint of it escapes him.

THE EXPLORATION OF HISPANIOLA IN 1494

Arriving at the island of Hispaniola, he found that the colonists previously left had all been massacred and the fort destroyed.¹² But a new and better site was selected, and on December 17, 1493, a permanent city named Isabella was begun. Almost at once explorations were

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 98, lines 31-34: “Despues que todo lo ovieron resgatado, vinieron, diz que, quatro mancebos á la caravela, y pareciéronle al almirante dar tan buena cuenta de todas aquellas islas que estavan hazia el leste en el mismo camino qu’el almirante avia de llevar, que determinó de traerlos á Castilla consigo.” Also p. 100, lines 12-14: “Dize el almirante que aquellas dos islas [la isla de Carib, y la isla de Matinino poblada de mugeres sin hombres] no devían distar de donde avía partido .XV. 6 .XX. leguas, y creía que eran al sueste, y que los Yndios no le supieron señalar la derrota.” And p. 101, lines 4-6: “Creyó el almirante que avía por allí algunas islas; y al lesueste de la isla Española dixo que quedava la isla de Carib y la de Matinino, y otras muchas.” From these careful directions and repeated references it is evident that Columbus had even on his first voyage a rather accurate notion of the Lesser Antilles, so that his discovery of them on the second voyage seems less remarkable than it is sometimes represented to be.

¹² Cf. S. E. Morison, “The Route of Columbus along the North Coast of Haiti, and the Site of Navidad,” *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, n.s., XXXI (1940), 238-285. The further events of the second voyage are given in all the standard histories of Columbus, of which that by Justin Winsor is still one of the most satisfactory.

set on foot into the interior of the island in the search for gold. In the mountains of Cibao, which Columbus now thought to be Cipango (Japan), gold could be panned out of almost every stream. There was even a chance to dig a gold mine, the first to be operated by the Spaniards in the New World. At the end of January, 1494, Columbus wrote to the sovereigns a glowing report and dispatched it, together with specimens of the gold, by Antonio de Torres, who was sailing home on February 2 with twelve of the seventeen ships.

The departure of so many vessels was the occasion for the first rebellion against the Admiral's authority. It was led by the chief accountant, Bernal Díaz de Pisa, and consisted chiefly of colonists who were anxious to return before their terms of service were up. They plotted to seize some of the remaining vessels and sail independently. But Columbus seems to have suppressed the revolt with an iron hand and sent the ring-leader back to Spain for trial.

THE SEARCH FOR THE MAINLAND IN 1494

His attention now turns toward explorations by sea. Particularly is he concerned to locate the mainland. He keeps two more ships at Hispaniola than he should have, but sends money by Torres to complete payment on them, explaining: "The caravels are needed for the discovery of the mainland and the other islands that lie between."¹³ Manifestly these islands are the Lesser Antilles. He also asks that the supply of native gold which he is sending be used to buy and outfit two additional caravels, in which needed supplies may be sent back. These he repeatedly asks to have arrive by May.¹⁴ In the seventh item of his memorandum to Torres he urges him to speed the return of these vessels, "which," he says, "must be here during all of May."¹⁵ And again: "In order to comfort and strengthen these people remaining here, the utmost efforts must be made for the return of these caravels for all the month of May."¹⁶ It is perfectly certain that

¹³ *Raccolta*, I, Pt. 1, p. 277, lines 9-10: "Los caravelas son necesarias para el descubrir de la tierra firme y otras yslas que entre aqui é allá están." For passages from the De Torres Memorandum I have usually followed the English rendering in Thacher, II, 297-308. Cecil Jane, in his *Select Documents Illustrating the Four Voyages of Columbus*, I (London, 1930; Hakluyt Society, 2nd ser., LXV), 74-113, gives English and Spanish on confronting pages.

¹⁴ *Raccolta*, I, Pt. 1, p. 271, lines 20-23: "El tiempo es este propio para yr y poder bolver los que han de traer acá las cosas que aquí hasen mucha mengua, porque sy tardasen de yrse de aquí, non podrían bolverse para mayo."

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 274, lines 14-15: "En la consulta y en la respuesta se pasaría la sazon del partir los navíos, que acá por todo mayo es necesario que sean."

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 274, lines 22-24: "... las dichas dos caravelas, las quales, por consolar y esforçar esta gente, que acá queda, cumple que hagan más de poder de ser acá bueltas por todo el mes de mayo."

Columbus wanted the supplies of wheat and wine which the two new caravels might bring back, but why this special insistence on May, particularly on their being available at Hispaniola during all that month?

There is another peculiar thing. In the eighteenth item of the memorandum, apparently written a day or two after the eleventh item, Columbus expresses doubt as to whether, after all, "it will be possible to go to make discoveries *this year*."¹⁷ The passage is obscure, but probably refers to discoveries by sea. The implication is that if they cannot be made this year, they will have to go over to the next, as if there were something involved that operated on an annual basis.

However, things turned out better than he had feared. Columbus crushed the incipient revolt and shipped Bernal Díaz home for trial. He personally visited Cibao and founded Fort St. Thomas. Returning to the coast, he deputized his brother, Diego, to take charge of Fort Isabella, put Alonso de Ojeda in command of Fort St. Thomas, dispatched Pedro Margarite and four hundred men to explore the interior of the island, and on April 24, 1494, was ready himself to sail with three ships for the exploration of Jamaica and the southern coast of Cuba. This was six days before the beginning of May.

DID COLUMBUS EXPECT PEARLS ON THE MAINLAND?

From the usually accepted records of 1493 and 1494 it would seem that some piece is missing. The log of the first voyage gives evidence of the Admiral's eagerness to find pearls, of his strange notion that the season for them was May and June, and of the native stories about a mainland to the south. The memorandum to Torres gives evidence of a plan to explore that mainland, of an eagerness to have more ships by the first of May, and apparently of a feeling that if this exploration was not possible in May of 1494, the matter must go over for a whole year. What is needed, in order to make this a rational sequence of events, is some connection between that mainland and the prospect of pearls. In the usual sources this is not forthcoming. The mainland is ten days' canoe-sailing south of Jamaica. It lies beyond the islands of the Caribs. It is a place where the inhabitants wear clothes. But it seems never to be mentioned as a place where pearls are found.

The missing link in the chain is supplied, almost too neatly to be believed, by the narrative of the voyage of the five caravels. The account begins: "By an oversight it was omitted, in the story about Columbus, how he sent five caravels from the island of Hispaniola to

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 279, line 25: "Para este año no entiendo que sea posible yr á descobrir."

that neighboring country which they call Cuba, with orders to skirt the coast toward the south and southeast to a certain place where he had information that pearls were found."¹⁸ The mainland (*tierra firme*) is not actually mentioned as such in the account, but is unmistakably intended. A coast along which it was possible to sail for 2500 miles was manifestly continental.

Here is then a connection between the continent to the south and the expectation of finding pearls. Accept this, and the story of 1494 becomes intelligible. Columbus, we may suppose, pleads for ships before May because he still believes that there is an annual season for pearls in May and June. He did not, we may suppose, turn south from Dominica in October, 1493, because he was already too late for the season. He lays his plans to be there in May of 1494, and when local disturbances threaten to interfere, he apparently thinks for a time that he will wait until the right season in 1495. In reality he is able to sail with three vessels on April 24, 1494, but the additional ships have not arrived. If they had come in time, we may imagine he would have taken the whole fleet through the Windward Passage and then have divided it, taking part of it along southern Cuba and sending the rest to look for the continent to the south.

THREE ROUTES POSSIBLE TO THE MAINLAND

The closing sentence of the account in the Thacher Manuscript is quite explicit about a diversity of routes: "This voyage is connected with the third voyage [in Trevisan's schedule this is the voyage along southern Cuba] because the Admiral had sent them on different routes that he might have knowledge of such unknown and unheard-of land and people."¹⁹ As a matter of fact, there were three different directions in which the mainland might be sought. The route southeast along the Lesser Antilles was the one that the natives most often suggested. Another was due south from Jamaica, across the open Caribbean. Still another was to the west. If, as Columbus thought, Hispaniola was Japan, then the Asiatic continent should lie west of it and Cuba should be a peninsula projecting from it. As to Cuba,

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, III, Pt. 1, p. 75, lines 15-17, with several errors of detail which I have here corrected by comparison with the Thacher Ms.: "Per inadvertentia se ha lassato nel tractato del Columbo como da lisola Spagnola invio .5. caravelle a quel teren propinquo qual i chiamano Cuba, cum ordene scoresseno quella costa verso ostro et syrocho in certo loco dove have intelligentia se atrovava perle." Apparently "loco" was written over "laco" by the original hand.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 77, lines 17-18: "Questa navigatione conzonta cum la .3a. nauigatione per hauer lo admirante mandato per diuerse uie per hauer cognition de tal ignota et inaudita terra et populatione."

the testimony of the Indians seems to have been discordant, some declaring it an island, others the mainland. Why Columbus in April, 1494, chose to seek the continent to the west along Cuba, instead of to the south or southeast, is not explained. Probably his chief thought was that in Cuba he had already found the mainland and needed only to prove it. And then there was also the lure of a new route. He had seen the chain of islands to the southeast as far as Guadaloupe, but the southern coast of Cuba was new. At any rate, on June 12, having sailed westward about to the Isle of Pines, he had his officers and men sign a notarial document to the effect that so extensive a coast must be continental!

One may or may not believe that Columbus, in asking for caravels to be sent to him before May, had in mind an annual season for pearls. This is a piece of psychological reconstruction, and in the absence of any direct statement from the Admiral it can never be proved. But whatever the inner workings of his mind, there is no question that in the spring of 1494 he was accumulating caravels for the purpose of exploration, and particularly for the exploration of a mainland to the south and of islands lying in between. The alleged journey of the five caravels, therefore, in the autumn of 1494 is not an incredible intrusion into the historical course of events. If it took place in October and November, it was merely a tour that had been planned for May but had to be postponed.

WHEN WERE FIVE SHIPS AVAILABLE AT HISPANIOLA?

But what of the number of ships? Was there ever a time when five vessels were available for such a journey between September 28 and November 14? After all, caravels do not grow on trees. In 1494 they had to come from Spain. Also they had to bring most of their provisions from Spain, and the victualing of five vessels for a six weeks' tour was no small matter.

On February 2, after twelve ships had left, there should have been a fleet of five remaining, and yet the memorandum to Torres speaks as if there would be only four.²⁰ One had probably been lost. In the letter of Dr. Chanca about the second voyage, in a passage speculating on the size of Hispaniola, is this remark: "A caravel has been gone forty days for the purpose of sailing around it, and up to the present

²⁰ Though this passage is not too clear, such seems to be the implication of these words in *Raccolta*, I, Pt. 1, p. 277, lines 1-3: "Ytem, diré á Sus Altesas que á cabss de escusar alguna más costa, yo merqué estas caravelas que lleváys por memorial, para retenerlas acá con estas dos naos, conviene á saber la *Gallega* y esa otra capitana." The English translation in J. B. Thacher, *Christopher Columbus*, II, 303, takes "Capitana" as a proper name.

has not returned."²¹ There seems to be no further record of this ship, but if it had not made the circuit of Hispaniola in forty days, the chances are it was lost. Of the remaining fleet of four, one vessel seems to have been immobilized as a result of the Bernal Díaz revolt. To guard against a repetition of such an incident, Columbus caused all the implements of combat to be assembled in a single ship, where they could readily be watched by trusty guards. When, therefore, on April 24, 1494, he sailed for the southern coast of Cuba with three vessels, he apparently took with him every ship available for active duty.

Columbus especially asked that two additional caravels be sent back at once, so as to reach Hispaniola before the beginning of May. Ferdinand and Isabella actually sent him more ships than he had asked, but they failed him as regards the time schedule. They sent seven, in two installments. An advance contingent of three ships, in command of the Admiral's brother, Bartholomew Columbus, sailed from Cádiz on April 30, 1494, and is said to have reached Hispaniola on St. John's Day. The other four, under Antonio de Torres himself, sailed in August, and are usually assumed to have arrived in the latter part of September or the early part of October. It will be seen at once that none of these seven ships could have reached Hispaniola before April 24, 1494, when Columbus set sail for the southern coast of Cuba.

But what was the situation by September 28, when the expedition of five caravels is supposed to have set out? The three ships brought by Bartholomew Columbus did not stay long. A revolt broke out, and Pedro Margarite and Father Boyle seized the ships that Bartholomew had brought and returned to Spain with them. When Antonio de Torres later came with four ships, he carried with him a letter from the sovereigns dated August 16. This is the only real clue to the dates of his voyage. He certainly left Spain some time in August. A month or six weeks was the ordinary time of a crossing.²² If he started late in August and had a slow crossing, Torres would have arrived in October. But with an earlier start and a fairly good crossing, he

²¹ Jane, *op. cit.*, I, 43: "Allá es ido cuarenta dias ha á rodearla una carabela, la cual no es venida hasta hoy." English translation also in Thacher, *op. cit.*, II, 371.

²² Oviedo, *Historia natural de las Indias* (Toledo, 1526), fol. iii recto, gives 35 or 40 days as the total average time from San Lúcar de Barrameda via the Canaries to Santo Domingo on the island of Haiti, a distance of about 1300 leagues, or 4000 modern nautical miles. Some trips, he says, have taken as much as 50 days, while in the year in which he wrote (1525) a fleet of four went from Santo Domingo to San Lúcar in the extraordinary time of 25 days. He adds the observation that from "this island" (Haiti) to "tierra firme" requires 5 or 6 or 7 days or more, according to which part of that very extensive continent one is seeking.

might easily have been at Fort Isabella by September 20. If so, then his four ships, together with the munitions ship already there, would have made a total of five that could have sailed to South America on September 28. No one can say, of course, with absolute certainty that Torres had arrived before that time, but no one can deny the probability.²³ Torres returned to Spain February 24, 1495.

ONLY IN 1494 COULD FIVE SHIPS HAVE BEEN AVAILABLE

The next ships to arrive were the four brought by Juan Aguado, who left Cádiz late in August, 1495, but did not reach Isabella until some time in October. Before Aguado's ships were ready to return, a hurricane destroyed them all, together with two of the three that Columbus had taken along southern Cuba. Two caravels were subsequently built, probably out of the wreckage, and on March 10, 1496, Columbus sailed from Isabella. The year 1497 he spent in Spain. In 1498 occurred the third voyage. There is no need to trace the record of ships for the subsequent years. Before 1498 the only year in which five caravels could have been available for a Caribbean tour between the dates of September 28 and November 14 was 1494.

When he returned from exploring Cuba in 1494, Columbus, instead of trying to beat against headwinds through the Windward Passage, sailed along the southern coast of Hispaniola and went around the island. Toward the end of August he found that some Spaniards from Fort Isabella had made their way across the island, and he sent nine of his sailors back across country to announce his coming. They may have reached Isabella at about the same time as Torres and his four ships from Spain. Meanwhile Columbus went on around the island, and approached the harbor of Isabella from the east, arriving on September 29. The expedition to the pearl coast started, presumably from Isabella, on September 28. Since they were setting out to the west and Columbus was coming in from the east, they would have missed each other by just one day. If these dates are accurate, then the officers and crew that made the journey along the southern coast of Cuba were not, as I at one time imagined, the same as those that went to the pearl coast. Whether the personnel of the five caravels was drawn mainly from the new arrivals with Torres or from the earlier colonists, there is no evidence to show. At any rate, all those whose names are preserved in the notorious affidavit of June 12, 1494, stating

²³ Cf. Cesare de Lollis, in *Raccolta*, I, Pt. 1, p. cv, note 3: "Tutto porta a credere che subito dopo il 16 agosto il Torres ripartisse per le Indie." He quotes, however, the rather inconclusive observation of Las Casas, II, 92, that Antonio de Torres set sail at the end of August or the beginning of September.

that Cuba was part of the mainland, are automatically ruled out of the expedition to South America.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Such is the historical background against which the narrative in the Thacher Manuscript must be considered. The first voyage of Columbus in 1492 had been a rather meager expedition of three vessels with perhaps 150 men, but with the discovery of inhabited lands west of the Atlantic the attitude of Ferdinand and Isabella changed. On his return to Spain Columbus was confirmed in all his rights and privileges as "Admiral of the Ocean Sea," and in eager haste a new and larger expedition was made ready, partly in order to anticipate the Portuguese. Seventeen vessels comprised the fleet, which carried 1200 or 1500 men, together with provisions, seed grain, domestic animals, and implements, all designed for exploration, conquest, and permanent colonization. On September 25, 1493, when he sailed from Cádiz on his second voyage, Columbus was doubtless at the high point of his career. His fame as an explorer was safe for all time. What he could do as a colonizer and administrator remained to be seen.

The achievements of the first part of 1494 were considerable. Much of the island of Hispaniola was explored, with Fort Isabella as the administrative center. The next task was to find the mainland. For this Columbus laid his plans, retaining some ships and requesting others from Spain. With those that he retained he sought the continent himself along southern Cuba and proclaimed his success in the affidavit of June 12, 1494—one of the strangest documents of his career. The ships requested from Spain were too late to sail in April, but apparently arrived in the fall and began their tour of exploration on September 28, seeking the continent by sailing past the islands to the southeast. Far from being a discordant or intrusive element in the history, therefore, this voyage seems to be something which Columbus had long been planning. The late arrival of the additional ships merely delayed it for four months.

If the story of the five caravels had been included in the *Decades* of Peter Martyr, it would have been unhesitatingly accepted as an important link in the chain of events in 1494. But since it is known only through Angelo Trevisan, who does not name any authority for it and who dates it only indirectly, it must run an especially severe gauntlet. The narrative presents many puzzling features, some of which will doubtless never be satisfactorily explained. Different scholars will estimate the seriousness of the difficulties variously. No points of detail, however, would appear to be insuperable provided the

account as a whole fits into the general historical framework of the discovery period. This it seems to do rather well. The possibility must therefore be seriously considered that the South American continent was discovered on October 10, 1494.

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RESERVATIONS REGARDING THE HISTORICITY OF THE 1494 DISCOVERY OF SOUTH AMERICA

The article by Dr. William Jerome Wilson which appears in this issue restates the arguments for a discovery of the South American mainland by five caravels sent from Espanola by Columbus, presumably in 1494. Since Dr. Wilson's article speaks for itself, it is unnecessary to summarize it here. My object will be to point out various reasons for doubt that arise and to show what obstacles must still be overcome before the new thesis can be accepted with confidence. To do this it will be necessary to refer not only to Dr. Wilson's present article but to three others, which he has published elsewhere, illustrating different aspects of the question.¹

I am not necessarily hostile to Dr. Wilson's endeavor. I have no vested interest in keeping the Spaniards away from the South American mainland in 1494, or at any other date before 1498, if they can be brought there legitimately. I admit that the Trevisan document, on which the whole case rests, is an important piece of evidence. But a document at variance with the supposed course of history has a hard time standing alone and unsupported. Dr. Wilson believes that he has found the necessary support and that the Trevisan narrative can be fitted into the known course of events. I doubt this; at least I feel that contrary evidences, some obvious and some not so obvious, have not yet been dealt with.

In the first place, this voyage seems to have dropped out of history until now. If it occurred, it was an event of the greatest importance. Five caravels, coasting the mainland for the first time, covering 2,000 miles from Cumaná to Cape Gracias á Dios, and returning around the

¹ W. J. Wilson, "A Narrative of the Discovery of Venezuela (1494?) in the Thacher Manuscript on Columbus and Early Portuguese Navigations," *Proceedings of the Inter-American Bibliographical and Library Association*, III (1940), 279-300; *idem*, "The Textual Relations of the Thacher Manuscript on Columbus and Early Portuguese Navigations," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, XXXIV (1940), 199-220; *idem*, "The Spanish Discovery of the South American Mainland," *Geographical Review*, XXXI (1941), 283-299.

north side of Cuba, thus revealing its insularity, surely would have furnished the most ignorant members of the expedition with food for thought. How many sailors manned the five caravels we have no means of telling, but presumably a hundred is a reasonable figure. What happened to these men? Something, surely, because in 1508 people were still uncertain as to whether Cuba was an island or mainland, after 1500 seamen seemed to have lost all memory of a discovery of Tierra Firme prior to the Admiral's in 1498, and in 1502 Columbus himself was giving no sign that he had ever heard of the voyage which presumably took place at his orders eight years earlier. Dr. Wilson believes that news of the discovery was kept secret by Columbus's own orders.² But great indeed must have been the power of the Admiral over his men if so many of them could be taken into a conspiracy of silence, a silence they were maintaining years after his death.

The 1494 voyage is unknown to the historians. To be sure, references are found in Peter Martyr's writings and in the Journal of the Admiral's third voyage, as retailed by Las Casas, that can be construed as confirmation. But this, I maintain, is not really hitting the nail on the head. If these historians preserved stray hints of the voyage, they certainly did so accidentally and without realizing what they were doing. It seems to me that in the fairly abundant literature about the first discoveries we are entitled to ask for and get at least one description, clearly connected with the second voyage of Columbus, reinforcing the Trevisan document. No such description exists.

We lack positive means of identifying any of the five caravels, and, what is more important, we cannot identify any sailor who manned one of them. Not that we are without the names of men who were in the West Indies at the time; the *Pleitos de Colón* and other documents give us quite a lengthy list. But the list includes the name of no one who made this journey, or who, to all appearances, had even heard of it. Reserving the last point for future consideration we can claim that the law of averages should, in the *Pleitos de Colón*, for instance, provide at least one seaman able to testify to having visited the Pearl Coast ahead of the Admiral, especially as such testimony would have been so welcome to the Crown at that particular stage.

Cartographical evidence is lacking unless it is to be found in the Juan de la Cosa map, where Dr. Wilson seeks to find it.³ In fairness, however, it should be said that he suggests this as a possibility rather

² Wilson, "Narrative of the Discovery of Venezuela," *Proceedings of the Inter-American Bibliographical and Library Association*, III, section 11.

³ Wilson, "The Spanish Discovery," *Geographical Review*, XXXI (year), 292-295.

than advocates it. The bearing of the La Cosa map on the case is, first, that it displays Cuba as an island, whereas its insularity is commonly thought to have been revealed by Ocampo in 1508. The assumption is that the return of the five caravels around the north side of Cuba to Haiti might have furnished La Cosa with data for making his map. The second bearing is that the chart shows a Central American coastline, possibly as far north as Cape Gracias á Dios. Dr. Wilson feels that this coastline may be identified roughly with the actual one. To use his words, "As far as Cape la Vela the map gives names of places, all of which La Cosa would have learned himself on his voyage with Hojeda in 1499. Beyond that point the contour of the shore, in spite of inaccuracies, is more or less recognizable as far as Cape Gracias á Dios, at which point the vignette of St. Christopher intervenes. If, now, the narrative of Trevisan is authentic, we suddenly have a source from which La Cosa could have obtained this information."⁴

Several years ago, George Emra Nunn made a detailed study of the Juan de la Cosa mappemonde.⁵ His conclusion was that the copy we have, though bearing the date 1500, is really a revision made not earlier than 1508, after Ocampo had rounded Cuba and the coast of Central America had been somewhat explored. Dr. Wilson now suggests that it is unnecessary to postdate the map as Nunn does and that instead the voyage of 1494 may account for its out-of-the-way features. Possibly, but the map has additional points that do not agree with the date 1500. Quoting Nunn: "It shows evidence of both the Cabot voyages. It shows evidence of exploration of Southern Brazil after 1503 at least. It shows the island group in the South Atlantic Ocean which corresponds to the Tristan da Cunha islands. Some of this information was not available to La Cosa at the earliest before 1504 and some of it not before 1507 or 1508. In that case there is no difficulty in accounting for an island Cuba on the La Cosa map."⁶

Regardless of the date of the extant version of the La Cosa map I do not think that any undue significance can be attached to the maker's failure to connect Cuba with mainland on the west. La Cosa gives Cuba a configuration almost identical with that provided by the makers of the Cantino, Canerio, and Waldseemüller maps.⁷ There is no real indication that these were trying to establish insularity. Their knowledge of Cuba simply ended at a given point, whereupon

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 292.

⁵ *The Mappemonde of Juan de la Cosa. A Critical Investigation of Its Date* (Jenkintown, 1934).

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

⁷ The Cantino and Canerio maps are dated 1502. The Waldseemüller edition of the Ptolemy world map, with the addition of parts of the New World, was made in 1507.

for the remainder they adopted an imaginary contour which became conventionalized, a device very common in that period of mapmaking. They all, including La Cosa, have Cuba tapering off into a group of small, meaningless islands, somewhat similar to Martin Behaim's equally meaningless galaxy around his Cipangu in the East.

Now compare all this with what Las Casas has to say. The latter was with the first conquering expedition sent to Cuba under Diego Velásquez and Pánfilo de Narváez in 1511, so his acquaintance with the island was formed early. Regarding the year 1508, he writes, "The Commander in Chief resolved at this time to send someone to discover the entire island [Las Casas meant to say "explore the coast"] of Cuba, because until then it was not known whether it was island or mainland, and also to find out if it was dry land because the report was that it was mostly swamp. . . ."⁸ Las Casas then goes on to tell briefly of the captain selected, Sebastian de Ocampo, and states that he took but a small expedition because, he reiterates, the object was merely to learn whether the land of Cuba was an island or a mainland cape. All this trouble should have been unnecessary if one of the first acts of the Spaniards in the West Indies, fourteen years earlier, had been to determine the solution to this important geographical problem. One, at least, of those elusive sailors who manned the five caravels should have turned up to spare Ocampo his effort.

We turn now from the Cuban to the Central American itinerary of the five caravels. From Darien to Cape Gracias á Dios they are supposed to have coasted the region. They would have made their voyage hastily, of course, but presumably they would have had something to report concerning it to the Admiral on returning to España. In 1502, Columbus, starting from a point north of Cape Gracias á Dios, explored this same coast southward in search of a strait that would conduct him through the land mass into the Indian Ocean.⁹ Granting that the 1494 voyage had been one of hurried reconnaissance, there had still been no strait found, so Columbus might at least have concluded that this particular region was a poor place to look for one. Also, if we accept the possibility that our version of the La Cosa map was made in 1500 and was based on the findings of the 1494 voyagers, how are we to reconcile La Cosa's straitless solid mainland with Columbus's diligent search for a water passage in 1502? In reading

⁸ *Historia de las Indias* (3 vols., Madrid, 1927), II, 273.

⁹ Columbus's account of his fourth voyage is found in his letter to the sovereigns, written from Jamaica July 7, 1503. It is entitled "Carta que escribió D. Cristóbal Colón Virrey y Almirante de las Indias á los Cristianísimos y muy poderosos Rey y Reina de España." It has been published many times.

Columbus's account of his fourth voyage, I, for one, do not receive the impression that he had the slightest idea of anyone's having proceeded him to those coasts. He appears to have had nothing practical on which to go. He writes of Marco Polo's Ciamba and Ptolemy's Cattigara, and believes them to have been in the near vicinity of his discoveries. But he does not seem to have identified a single landmark, except when he revisited several later in the voyage.

The Trevisan document emphasizes Venezuela and the Pearl Coast as the most important place visited by the caravels in 1494. Here the *Pleitos de Colón* should be our most important documents of verification.¹⁰ What they prove in this connection appears entirely negative. In the early sixteenth century, Don Diego Colón, son and heir of the first Admiral, instituted a suit with the Crown to have his father's titles and privileges handed over to him in full. The suit was an endless succession of appeals and dragged on for years, but in its early stages many witnesses were called who had been companions of Columbus in his various voyages. One of the chief points at issue was that of exactly how much the Admiral had discovered and exactly what others had discovered. Great importance was attached to the Pearl Coast. The Crown, it must be understood, was trying to whittle down the accomplishments of Columbus in all possible ways. From the Trevisan document we are to understand that the Admiral did not accompany the five caravels in person. I am confident, therefore, from the spirit prevailing at these hearings, that the Pearl Coast would have been counted as someone else's discovery if the matter of the voyage by the caravels had been brought up. Here was the time and place to name the anonymous commander of 1494. This would have been exactly the evidence desired most by the Crown, and yet it was not forthcoming.

I am particularly struck with the testimony of Alonso de Ojeda, who was a bitter personal enemy of Diego Colón, the second Admiral, and who appeared in 1512 as witness for the Crown.¹¹ Ojeda had accompanied Columbus on his second voyage from Spain in 1493, as commander of a ship, and had been a participant in the Spanish conquest of Española that immediately followed. Yet in the hearings he had no word of contradiction for the claim that Columbus had dis-

¹⁰ Part of the *Pleitos* are published by Martín Fernández de Navarrete, *Colección de los viajes y descubrimientos que hicieron por mar los españoles desde fines del siglo xv*, III (Madrid, 1825). The complete *Pleitos de Colón* are edited by Cesario Fernández Duro in two volumes, Madrid, 1892 and 1894. They are included in the *Colección de documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y organización de las antiguas posesiones españolas de ultramar*.

¹¹ Ojeda's testimony is found in Duro's edition, I, 203-208.

covered Paria, the Boca del Drago, and Trinidad. True, he claimed to be the second to visit those places after the Admiral, but he never questioned the latter's priority. Many others testified in the same vein. Nicolás Pérez, a shipmaster, said that Christopher Columbus discovered the Dragon's Mouth.¹² Rodrigo de Bastidas said that "the first one who saw land in that region, which is called mainland; the one who discovered it, was the said Admiral, Don Christoval Colon."¹³ Rodrigo Manzorro said that some fourteen years earlier he had heard, being in Espanola, that the Admiral had just come from discovering Paria and Trinidad and that he was bringing pearls from Paria.¹⁴ There is no point in giving a wearisome enumeration of the hearings and testimonies involved in the lengthy and verbose *Pleitos*. The findings are in substantial agreement. In a few cases the witnesses were men of importance and some learning. More often they were simple men who expressed themselves badly. But they were all religious and they were all under oath. Nowhere, according to my recent investigation of the *Pleitos*, was any doubt raised as to the Admiral's being the first to discover mainland. And the discovery to which they referred was the historically familiar voyage of 1498.

Many of the witnesses were seamen, of whom probably a majority had first come to the Indies with the large and well-manned second expedition of Columbus, in 1493. Not one had gone with the five caravels the following year, and evidently not one had had a friend or comrade who participated in this thrilling experience. The crews of the caravels must have been exclusive chaps indeed. They came to the Indies, they discovered the mainland, and then, apparently, departed into the unknown, with only the author of the Trevisan document remaining behind long enough to relate the story.

There the case rests. We have the Trevisan narrative in favor of the 1494 voyage, and aside from conjectures we have very little else. On the other side, admittedly, we have no document proving that five caravels did not make such a voyage in the year 1494. What we have is a total lack of information in histories, in documents, and in maps, bearing in any way upon the enterprise. A few years later the alleged discoveries of the five caravels were attributed to other people who were believed to have been the original discoverers. Until more evidence is produced we must employ a very large question mark in discussing the historicity of the incident.

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¹² *Ibid.*, I, 211.

¹³ *Ibid.*, I, 218.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 222-223.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE PRESENT MEXICAN REVOLUTION UPON THE STATUS OF MEXICAN WOMEN

Women have always played an important part in Mexican history. Their influence has greatly increased since the social revolution of 1910. That revolution, which preceded the Russian Revolution by nearly ten years, was not merely a series of military events, but a great social upheaval. Emphasis was now placed on national values, facing difficult situations, and changing formerly adopted policies. The mass education advocated included women. Even the Indians found that they too had human rights, among them being the right to acquire an education. The intellectual life of the country was quickened. The day of the *hidalgo* and aristocrat had passed, for the people had asserted themselves. Peonage was practically abolished, and labor unions were permitted to organize and protest against injustice as freely as in any part of the world.

In the recent revolution many women, particularly of the working class and peasantry, were ready to take their place side by side with their men. Some carried the message of Zapata's agrarian reform to the country people, while others, like Lucrecia Toriz, a textile worker, helped organize the strike of Río Blanco, which was a signal of revolt against the corrupt dictatorship of Porfirio Díaz.¹

María del Refugio García, the daughter of a village doctor in Uruapan, Michoacán, is an interesting example of a brave woman who dared to defy the dictator. She made her first speech to the country people when she wore short skirts and had braids down her back, urging them to defend themselves against the tyranny of Díaz. The peasants listened to her frequently. Later her reputation as a radical speaker became so well known that her friends took her out of the state for fear that she might fall into the hands of the police. In 1913 she became a Mexico City representative of the Michoacán revolutionary movement, and all her life she has worked for the rights of the country people.²

In the revolution from 1910 to 1920 peasant women followed the soldiers onto the battlefields and aided them in military campaigns. On account of the insecurity of the country, women of the upper classes had to leave their homes in small towns and the rural districts.

¹ Verna Carleton Millan, *Mexico Reborn* (Boston, 1939), p. 152.

² Millan, *op. cit.*, p. 166.

Many went to the United States, where they learned lessons never to be forgotten, because some had to work for their living. Others, going to large cities in their own country, were confronted with rivalry, necessity, and problems unknown before. Women had to study, and great advantages came from this,³ for, as Dr. Puig Casauranc has always said, their emancipation will come through culture.⁴

Women have obtained more rights than ever before in Mexico as a result of the revolution, yet their position is still far inferior to that of men. Within many homes man still reigns supreme—a heritage of the Middle Ages. Daughters are taught absolute obedience not only to their fathers but also to their brothers. If there is little money in the family, sons are educated at the expense of daughters. Sometimes even when the family has plenty of money parents refuse to educate their daughters because they will have no need for a career when married.⁵ In some conservative upper-class families after the age of fourteen the girl seldom attends school. Her education is considered finished with a few courses in music, painting, and languages. She engages in light conversation, is ambitious to make a favorable impression, and sometimes belongs to philanthropic organizations, generally of a religious origin. On the other hand, girls of the middle class often continue their studies in commercial schools, high schools, and normal schools. The majority of them become enthusiastic teachers. Others with greater ambition attend the universities and remain there until obtaining degrees of doctors in philosophy, letters, chemistry, or pharmacy. A number of them become physicians, attorneys, and engineers.⁶

Formerly the supreme goal of every woman's life was marriage. Although the mother's marriage was a lifelong tragedy, she could imagine no other lot for her daughters, on the theory that any kind of marriage was better than none. The Spanish custom of long engagements still prevails, and many women still marry the men their families select for them.⁷

The Mexican revolution gave women divorce and this seemed to be a great boon. In 1917 President Venustiano Carranza decreed in the law on family relations that, with the granting of divorce, it was necessary to reform the family, for it formed the basis of society. To obtain divorce the couple must have lived for one year in the jurisdic-

³ Margarita Robles de Mendoza, *La evolución de la mujer en México* (Mexico, 1931), pp. 19-20.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

⁵ Millan, *op. cit.*, p. 158.

⁶ Samuel Guy Inman, "The Feminist Movement in Latin America," *Pan American Union Bulletin*, April 1922, Vol. 54, pp. 353-354.

⁷ Millan, *op. cit.*, p. 158.

tion of the judge from whom they obtained it, and the innocent party, when injured by it, had a right to alimony not exceeding one third of the income of the other. Marriage was to be considered a contract and the breaking of it should injure only the breakers, not the children. The age limit for marriage was increased to sixteen years for the man and fourteen for the woman, but the governor might make exceptions in unusual cases. The authority in the family was to be exercised jointly by husband and wife as equals. The direct care of the home belonged to the wife. She could always demand the income of her husband, which was to be used first of all to maintain the family.

A woman who lived on her own resources or had an establishment for herself, exercised a profession, held an office, or discharged a public obligation, had the right to choose a residence different from that of her family. In case of marriage, she could select and vary her residence with the consent of her husband. She had the privilege of having a different home from that of her husband, if he established his habitation in an unhealthy or indecent place, or transferred it to a foreign country, when not in the service of his country. A woman with a lucrative profession might perform all tasks connected with it, and could freely dispose of the products of her work, although she was obliged to contribute proportionally to the maintenance of the home and the education of the children.

The wife might administer her own personal possessions and the income from them, and make any kind of contract concerning them without the consent of her husband. If she gave him the right to administer them, she could demand an account from him at any time and revoke the power granted him whenever she wished. Naturally common possessions were handled jointly.⁸

In regard to property rights for women, the Spanish laws, upon which the Mexican Constitution of 1917 was based, were always more liberal than the English. The latter gave the husband full control over his wife's antenuptial property, her personal possessions, and inheritance. He kept that right even when the marriage relations ended. In the United States the approach is toward the Latin-American theories, and the English laws have had to be modified.⁹ The legal standing of man and woman has been equal in Mexico since 1917, for

⁸ C. Venustiano Carranza, *Ley sobre relaciones familiares* (Mexico, 1917), pp. 3-71; Dr. Francisco Cosentini, *Declaración de los derechos y obligaciones civiles de la mujer y del hogar* (Mexico, 1930), arts. 3, 16, 17, 19-22, 24, 27-31, 33, 63, 69, 93.

⁹ *Pan American Union Bulletin*, March 1925, Vol. 59, pt. I, pp. 232-240.

under the Constitution woman was not subject by reason of her sex to any restriction in the acquisition and exercise of her civil rights.¹⁰

The Constitution of 1917 is quite liberal in regard to protection of working women. In Article 123 unhealthy and dangerous occupations and overtime work are forbidden to all women, and children under sixteen years of age; neither are they to be employed in commercial establishments after ten o'clock at night. Women are protected before and after childbirth from excessive physical labor and permitted periods of rest without loss of salary. The same compensation must be paid for the same work, without regard to sex or nationality.¹¹ Every worker has a living wage, the rate to be determined by special commissions to be appointed in each municipality and enforced by state and federal legislation, but minimum wage was more a matter of legislation than fact. By the fall of 1931 the Federal Congress had not yet put this proviso into effect, and the constitutional minimum wage was not even operative in the Federal District or applied to industries under federal control, such as cotton, oil, mining, and transportation.¹²

Some of the social laws for women did not immediately accomplish what was expected of them. For example, very few women had the courage to take advantage of the divorce law, because the Catholic tradition was still strong within the family. The woman who divorced her husband did so against the opposition of all her relatives. The man might be a scoundrel, diseased, and morally corrupt, but usually her family would rather see her dead than divorced. If the husband decided to fight the divorce, his wife generally had no chance of winning it, unless her political connections were better than his.¹³

Other labor enactments were soon necessary for women, as the Constitution did not meet their needs, and their entrance into industry was an inevitable condition of modern life which had come to stay, for industrial or professional work is no more harmful for women than for men, provided they receive an equitable wage, work in safe and sanitary places, have reasonable hours, and enjoy the benefits of accident, health, retirement, and other insurance. The social legislation of almost every American country includes enactments for "equality of pay for equality of work," yet they were not enforced, and the

¹⁰ Cosentini, art. 1; *Méjico código civil*, art. 2.

¹¹ H. N. Branch, "The Mexican Constitution of 1917 compared with the Constitution of 1857," in the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences* (Philadelphia, 1917), pp. 94-96.

¹² Barbara Nachtrieb Armstrong, *Insuring the Essentials* (New York, 1932), p. 111.

¹³ Millan, pp. 161-162.

evils intended to be corrected still exist. The idea is common in Latin America that any organization of working women is opposed to the interests of employers. Until recently, on account of lack of organization, women have not succeeded in obtaining even elementary justice. They are timid before employers who, under threat of dismissal, forbid them to join a union or other group of workers.¹⁴

Women have, nevertheless, worked for increased privileges and have had considerable success. The first Woman's Congress was held in Mérida, Yucatán, in January 1916, with seven hundred delegates present. Papers were read and discussions held concerning industries suitable for the employment of women, education, and social problems.¹⁵ On November 6, 1920, a Woman's Society was founded in Mexico City, similar to the Pan American Round Table of the United States, the purpose of it being to promote closer relations between American nations.¹⁶ The next year a Feminist Congress met in the capital, and was attended by many women. Some were cultured and others lacked education, but all were optimistic and enthusiastic, even though their efforts were ridiculed in the press by the men reporters who attended the meetings.¹⁷ Mexico had a branch of the Pan American Association for the Advancement of Women, which held its first national convention in Mexico City in May of 1923, and the governors of twenty states promised their aid. Women's economic questions, labor conditions, social problems, civic rights, and many timely subjects were discussed.¹⁸ In the same year the Mexican branch of the Young Woman's Christian Association and a child welfare society, called Pestalozzi Froebel Society, were formed.¹⁹ The Y. W. C. A. has been quite active in Mexico where, as in many Latin-American countries, it is doing most useful work.

The women students in the Medical School, desiring to coöperate with the work of education and the improvement of women, organized a student society in August of 1928, and named it for Rosalia Slaughter Morton, who had visited Mexico in the interest of the Pan American Round Table. The new organization wanted to affiliate with the Pan American Round Table, because the latter provided scholarships for Mexican women doctors and women students of medicine.²⁰ Two years later the seventh Congress of the Woman's International League

¹⁴ *Pan American Union Bulletin*, March 1927, Vol. 61, pt. I, pp. 259-261.

¹⁵ *Pan American Union Bulletin*, January 1916, Vol. 42, pp. 147-148.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, January 1920, Vol. 50, p. 114.

¹⁷ Robles de Mendoza, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

¹⁸ *Pan American Union Bulletin*, June 1923, Vol. 56, pp. 630-631.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, August 1923, Vol. 57, p. 211.

²⁰ *Pan American Union Bulletin*, October 1928, Vol. 62, pt. II, p. 1191.

for Peace and Freedom was held in Mexico City, at which time woman's responsibility for peace and various international problems were discussed.²¹

Some effort was made by Mexican women to organize for industrial purposes in 1931, when a coöperative association, known as the Society for the Protection of Mexican Women, was formed in the capital. Its constitution empowered it to establish and operate such commercial, industrial, and agricultural enterprises as were considered necessary to provide employment for women.²²

The very important Federal Labor Law adopted in 1931 was partly, at least, the result of the influence of various women's organizations. The law provided that women, and minors between the ages of twelve and sixteen, should never be compelled to work overtime; women and minors were not to be employed in night shifts, in places where intoxicating drinks were sold, or in unhealthful or dangerous trades, except where, according to the opinion of competent authorities, sufficient precautions had been taken to protect the workers; and they were not to be permitted to work underground in mines. Expectant mothers were not to be allowed to engage in work involving great physical exertion three months prior to childbirth. They might have a vacation with full pay, consisting of eight days before and one month after the birth of their children and, if still unable to work, could be given leave without pay. When returning, they were to have rest periods during the day to care for their children, and every establishment with more than fifty women was to have a nursery. Women were to work eight hours a day and have one day of rest in seven. Since Article 123 of the Constitution had not been enforced, provision was now made for minimum wages and equality of wages between the sexes. While almost all the states passed enforcement laws, in 1932 minimum wage was effective in only one state, San Luis Potosí, and in the chief city of the state of Jalisco. In the other provinces the towns did not establish committees to determine the rates, consequently the acts remained practically dead-letter laws. Mexico has had public employment agencies for a number of years, relief funds for unemployment, and in 1934 started projects for better housing of workers.²³

²¹ *Ibid.*, October 1930, Vol. 64, pt. II, p. 1078.

²² *Pan American Union Bulletin*, January 1931, Vol. 65, p. 105.

²³ *Pan American Union Bulletin*, January 1932, Vol. 66, pp. 67-68; July 1935, Vol. 69, pp. 523-535; Armstrong, *op. cit.*, p. 111. See Rudolf Broda, "Minimum Wage Laws in Some Mexican States," *International Labor Review*, July 1930. Minimum wage does not work much better in South America, except in Uruguay where there is an attempt to enforce it for employees of large farms and cattle ranches. Armstrong, *op. cit.*, pp. 112-113.

The Homestead Decree of August 4, 1923, granted widows of Mexican nationality, who were heads of families, the same rights as men to take up a certain amount of national or uncultivated land not reserved by the government. The amount varied from twenty-five to five hundred *hectares*, depending upon the location and capacity for irrigation. Title would be given to the land after two years of cultivation or stock raising by the person taking up the claim.²⁴

President Emilio Portes Gil believed that women must first be prepared to hold public positions, which had always been monopolized by men; that they must be educated to discharge the functions of such offices efficiently and be collaborators with men; and that they must be educated like men. When the president was given a list of many professional women, doctors, lawyers, and literary women, he read it carefully and said he was glad to know that so many women were ready to work with men for the social advancement of the country.²⁵

The interpretation of citizenship for women caused much discussion. The first article of the Constitution states that "Every person in the United States shall enjoy all guarantees granted by this Constitution." Elodia Cruz believed that the word *all* had nothing restrictive in it and did not include men only. She also maintained that Article 34 on citizenship spoke in a general manner, as did all other parts of the document.²⁶ Dr. Puig Casauranc was of the same opinion. On the other hand, Licenciado Ignacio García Téllez believed the opposite and said that the Constitution did not intend women to vote.²⁷ President Portes Gil declared: "Our laws were made . . . by men for the benefit of men. . . . When the Constitution was promulgated, certainly it purposed to confine the use of the vote only to men."²⁸ Some men feared to give women the right of suffrage because of their religion. A gentleman who was a Mason of high degree said: "Twenty-five thousand Mexican women coming before the Chamber [of Congress] to ask the vote for women! How horrible! It means that, if they obtain their object, we shall soon have a bishop as president." Yet it was noticed that some Masons sought wives educated in convents.²⁹

Soon after President Lazaro Cárdenas took office, Margarita Robles de Mendoza, a teacher, sociologist, feminist, and delegate to the Inter-American Commission of Women in Washington, asked him whether

²⁴ *Pan American Bulletin*, December 1923, Vol. 57, p. 624.

²⁵ Robles de Mendoza, *op. cit.*, pp. 58-59, 61.

²⁶ Elodia Cruz, *Los políticos de la mujer en México* (Mexico, 1937), p. 18.

²⁷ Robles de Mendoza, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 60.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 84-85.

Article 34 should not be interpreted as giving the right of citizenship to women. On March 20, 1935, the Department of Government answered that, according to its opinion, there were no reasons, technical or otherwise, for denying Mexican women citizenship in the republic. In his message to Congress on September 1 of the same year President Cárdenas also admitted this by saying: "The working woman has the right to take part in elections, since the Constitution puts her on equal footing with man, a fact confirmed by some of the contributory legislation in force: the civil laws, which give her the same prerogatives as man; the labor laws, that grant equal rights; and the agrarian laws, which concede to her equal benefits."³⁰

Now according to law, a foreign woman who has contracted matrimony with a Mexican, and may have established or may establish a residence within national territory, becomes a citizen by naturalization, and retains her Mexican nationality even after the matrimonial relationship has been dissolved. Also the Mexican woman who marries a foreigner does not lose her nationality because of her marriage. The tendency at present on the American continents is to confer independent citizenship on women.³¹

Mexican women today do not think that their sphere is confined to domestic economy only. Despite family opposition and social taboos, they are breaking away from their traditional lives. Probably the first profession open to them was teaching, and in that field they have done pioneer work. As in other countries, they are now intimately connected with public life, and have come to participate in all social work from manual labor to intellectual tasks, and new occupations are constantly opening for them. Women have served satisfactorily in the secretariat of public instruction, the tribunal of minors, the council of defense, social positions, and in the administration of justice. Elodia Cruz has made a case for them to take part in elections and hold public offices. Some women are better educated than men, she says, and yet do not vote. They work in offices, shops, and factories, and perform their labor well. Unmarried women frequently support parents, brothers, sisters, and relatives but still do not vote, while unoccupied and vagrant men are not excluded from the suffrage.³²

Yucatán was among the first Mexican states to give women the vote in local elections, and recently several of them have played prominent parts in its political life.³³ Since 1924 when the revolu-

³⁰ *Pan American Union Bulletin*, May 1936, Vol. 70, pp. 426-427.

³¹ *Ley mexicana de nacionalidad*, arts. 2, 4; *Diario oficial*, January 20, 1934, No. 17, p. 238; *Pan American Union Bulletin*, July 1936, Vol. 70, p. 542; October 1932, Vol. 66, p. 736.

³² Cruz, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

³³ Millan, *op. cit.*, p. 168.

tionist, Rafael Nieto, was governor, San Luis Potosí has granted women the privilege of taking part in municipal elections and holding office under certain conditions if they know how to read and write. The next year they were given all the rights of suffrage. This did not apply, however, to members of religious associations and women being educated and cared for by such organizations.³⁴ A law was also passed in the state of Chiapas in 1925 giving women equal political rights with men.³⁵ In 1934 a restricted suffrage was granted to women in the state of Guanajuato to vote for local deputies and the governor, but the greater part of them was excluded, because only professional women, property owners, or those who had commercial establishments and other industries, might vote. Recently the states of Vera Cruz, Durango, Tamaulipas, and Hidalgo have followed the example of those states in granting women suffrage in local elections.³⁶ Women were permitted to vote in the primaries held on April 5, 1936, when senators for the national Congress, governors of several states, and deputies in local legislatures were chosen to represent the National Revolutionary Party. It was reported that 2,750 women voted in the Federal District at that time.³⁷

Nothing definite was done about citizenship of women in 1937, as Elodia Cruz still insisted that Article 34 of the Constitution should be reformed or clarified. She said that, if it were interpreted justly, no reform would be needed, but, since it was given a masculine interpretation, reform was necessary to remove future doubts. She, therefore, urged women to organize and petition the governmental authorities to have it changed.³⁸

President Cárdenas took a liberal attitude toward women. In 1934 he permitted the women's section of the National Revolutionary Party to begin a nation-wide fight for the vote, and publicly stated that he would aid the movement. Pressure was immediately placed upon the state governors to help the cause and, as already mentioned, a number of states granted women local suffrage.³⁹ In 1938 Cárdenas announced to the nation: "Only the Revolution . . . has achieved for the Mexican woman a complete rescue from her social inferiority, obtaining the constitutional reform necessary to grant her rights and functions of citizenship that put her on the same plane of dignity with man."⁴⁰

³⁴ *Pan American Union Bulletin*, March 1923, Vol. 56, p. 309.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, August 1925, Vol. 59, pt. II, pp. 842-843.

³⁶ Millan, *op. cit.*, p. 168.

³⁷ *Pan American Union Bulletin*, May 1936, Vol. 70, p. 427.

³⁸ Cruz, *op. cit.*, pp. 19-22. ³⁹ Millan, *op. cit.*, p. 168.

⁴⁰ Virginia Prewett, *Reportage on Mexico* (New York, 1941), p. 179.

To improve the situation a constitutional amendment giving women the vote was drafted in 1938. It was passed by the Senate and House and referred to the states for ratification. Although President Cárdenas in his message to Congress, on September 1 of that year, urged that prompt action be taken, the amendment has not yet become law. Since all the states have not ratified it, the Revolution has not yet granted woman a complete rescue from her social inferiority.⁴¹

Without every member of their sex having the vote, Mexican women realize that they cannot obtain all that is needed relative to social legislation, as they do not have a legal weapon. Frequently Mexican husbands are Marxists outside and feudalists within their homes, and politicians fight tenaciously, with every weapon in their power, the efforts of organized women to secure the vote and obtain really effective laws to protect themselves.⁴²

Despite opposition, a strong feminist movement has sprung up in Mexico in recent years. Some masculine writers call it "the bloody struggle between men and women," yet no violence has occurred in this struggle of women to be respected and treated like human beings and conscientious adults.⁴³ The most important organization is the United Front for Women's Rights, established in 1935. It has had a stormy career in its efforts to centralize the work of hundreds of women's groups throughout the country, which by themselves lacked strength and a definite plan. Today it has a membership of more than 50,000 women of all social classes, even pure-blooded Indians, and includes some eight hundred organizations.

When Indian women become interested in such work, they are very active. Even their husbands and brothers have approved of their efforts to organize, built meeting-houses for them, and aided them financially. One time when a protest meeting was held in Tamaulipas against the discrimination shown them by a local politician, the women paraded down the main street with their banners and posters, and behind them came all the men of the village, because they sympathized with them.⁴⁴

The platform of the United Front has been endorsed by the National Council of Women Suffrage. It has a simple program, which

⁴¹ *Pan American Union Bulletin*, March 1940, Vol. 7, p. 165; Prewett, *op. cit.*, p. 179. So far only six American republics enjoy complete suffrage: the United States (1920), Uruguay (1932), Brazil (1932), Cuba (1934), El Salvador (1939), and Chile (1940). In Peru (1933) women have the right to vote in municipal elections. Women in Panama voted for the Provincial Councils on October 5, 1941.

⁴² Millan, *op. cit.*, pp. 160-161.

⁴³ Robles de Mendoza, *op. cit.*, pp. 97-98.

⁴⁴ Millan, *op. cit.*, pp. 163-164.

even unorganized women are asked to support. It comprises the right to vote and be voted for without restrictions; a modification in the Civil Code so that women may have the same legal rights as men; a change in the Federal Labor Law in the interest of feminine labor; modification in the Agrarian Code to permit all women to receive land under the same conditions as men; the protection of women government employees by statute; incorporation of indigenous women into the social and political life of the nation; establishment of work centers for unemployed women; protection of infancy and children; and a widespread program of cultural education for women.

The success of the United Front depended greatly upon its general secretary, María del Refugio García, who had defied President Díaz when still a child. Active in organizing women, she found Carranza a weak, hesitating liberal, fearing any adequate reforms. In despair she turned to Obregón. As a woman employee of the government, María realized the need for organizing her sex, because the very politicians who pretended to be revolutionists opposed women's efforts. At that time it had only been possible to form spontaneous groups here and there without any united program.

Obregón and Calles did not keep their promises. Consequently, in 1931 a woman's congress was called by the National Revolutionary Party. María went and publicly accused Calles on account of his puppet president, Ortiz Rubio, and for murdering country people. The police imprisoned her, the news spread rapidly through the city, thousands of women surrounded the jail, the police had to be summoned for fear of a riot, and María was hurriedly released. In 1935 she began a nation-wide campaign for the organization of the United Front for Women's Rights. Two years later she ran for federal deputy from her district of Uruapan against four candidates who were supported by the PNR. It was reported from reliable sources that she won the election, but at the last minute the party declared that a woman could not hold such an office until the Constitution was revised. María can bring more women together at one time than any other person, and politicians watch her activities.⁴⁵

The Executive Committee of the National Revolutionary Party recognizes the full rights of women in the economic order. Its program provides for equality of rights and occasions for women to work in the field, shop, or public office; equal remuneration and guarantees for both sexes for equal work of equal quality; equal opportunity for their education in their specialties compatible with their sex and direction of the home; absolute equality of civil rights in connection

⁴⁵ Millan, *op. cit.*, pp. 164-167.

with the administration and direction of the home; and equal civil rights in popular elections for members of *ayuntamientos*, local chambers, and the national Congress. The party fights all attempts to exploit women in any form. It favors the establishment of houses for children of workers, maternity homes, dispensaries for the needy, work houses for abandoned women, and a legal defender of women to protect their rights. It believes in the privilege of all classes of women to organize—country women, city workers, women teachers, servers of the state, and professional women.⁴⁶

The National Revolutionary Party (PNR) was reorganized in 1939 and named Party of Mexican Revolution (PRM). It now has a very active section of Feminine Action with delegates and sub-committees over the whole country. As it thinks it is useless to prohibit the organization of women any longer, it recognizes their legal citizenship and right to vote. Yet in 1939 Congress would not let women go to the polls. Women believed that political intrigue was back of this, therefore their fight for the vote still continued. They now intend to appear at the polls every time a national election is held to show their dissatisfaction until the vote is obtained.⁴⁷

The women communists, Matilde Rodríguez Cabo, María del Refugio García, and the doctors Balmaceda and Esther Chapa supported General Francisco J. Múgica, Secretary of Communication and Public Works, and Senator Ernesto Soto Reyes, Secretary of Agrarian Action of the National Revolutionary Party, who worked against Portes Gil. They all represented the interests of the Michoacán politicians.⁴⁸

For the first time women took an active part in politics in the 1940 presidential campaign, although they were not permitted to vote. Many of them worked for Juan Andreu Almazán, the conservative candidate, wholeheartedly. On many occasions members of the *Partido Feminino Idealista* rose long before daybreak to go out and distribute propaganda for the Revolutionary Party of a National Unification (PRUN). Some of them were imprisoned for this. They were very active supporters of Almazán in 1940.⁴⁹

Journalism has played a great part in the new freedom for Mexican women—an occupation which they themselves have helped to develop. Mexico can be called the "birthplace of American journal-

⁴⁶ Antonio Luna Arroyo, *La mujer mexicana en la lucha social* (Mexico, 1936), pp. 20, 30-31, ⁴⁷ Millan, *op. cit.*, pp. 168-169.

⁴⁸ Emilio Portes Gil, *Quince años de política mexicana* (Mexico, 1941), p. 514.

⁴⁹ Prewett, pp. 212, 228.

ism" because it had the first printing press early in the sixteenth century. There have been women journalists almost continuously since the widow of Pedro Ocharte, the daughter of Juan Pablos, early printer of New Spain, took over the establishment of her husband after his death in 1594. It was not until the present time, however, that journalism existed in the modern sense of the term.

The pioneer among women journalists is Emilia Enríquez de Rivera, who established her well-known magazine for women *El Hogar* (*The Home*), thus opening a new era in women's periodicals. *El Hogar* compares favorably with the leading magazines of its type in the United States. Señorita Rivera assisted her father, an editor of a small magazine, and after his death was without means and preparation for a career. An old friend of her father's loaned her a small sum of money to start her magazine. In a little dingy room with an old hand press she worked alone, and brought out on September 13, 1913, the first issue of the first modern magazine for women of Mexico. She has seen it grow from a small sheet to a good-sized periodical of fifty some pages, requiring a staff of sixty to produce it. Among its contributors are the best writers of Mexico. Señorita Rivera, a lady of poise and striking personality, is still the leading Mexican woman journalist, and is known in the United States and other countries.

Another successful editor and publisher is Guadalupe Ramírez, daughter of Ignacio Ramírez, a noted journalist and statesman. When a teacher of home economics in 1929 she and five other cultured women founded a small magazine called *Luz* (*Light*). She is still editor-in-chief and has done important work in promoting higher standards of living in rural communities, educating country mothers in hygienic living and care of children, and in teaching them how to make better homes.

Esperanza Velásquez Bringas, one of the country's most capable lawyers and director of libraries in Mexico City, has been a staff member of various periodicals in the capital, correspondent for several newspapers in the United States, and contributor to many magazines of Spain, Mexico, and the United States. She has worked for the development of libraries and schools in the oil fields in the state of Tamaulipas, and has helped to decrease illiteracy. She was the first woman to try and win a penal case in Mexico for a man accused of murder, with the unanimous vote of the jury.

Catalina D'Ezell, one of the leading contemporary playwrights and dramatic critics, secured the permanent position of dramatic editor on the *Excelsior*, one of Mexico's two great dailies. She has had a colorful career, struggling hard to win a place in the profession, and

writing for five years without compensation except the satisfaction of having her writings published. Today her plays have been produced successfully from Los Angeles to Buenos Aires.

Juana Manrique de Lara, a librarian of Mexico City, has contributed extensively to magazines in Mexico and the United States, as she writes both English and Spanish. She has done pioneer work in translating children's stories from the English, and in 1925 founded a small magazine for children entitled *Pinocho*, which unfortunately was not successful financially and had to be discontinued.

Virginia Huerta has been on the staff of *El Universal*, Mexico's other leading daily. She began as translator, then worked as cable editor, and later country editor.

Maria Ríos Cárdenas believed that journalism needed what women could give it, and as editor of the woman's page of *El Nacional Revolucionario*, she has tried very hard to encourage the economic and political independence of women, and their education for self-support. She published the feminist magazine *La Mujer*, which, owing to its feminist nature, was unpopular and short-lived.

Maria Luisa Ross likes journalism and devotes much of her attention to it. She is a former member of the staff of *El Universal*, a professor in the Normal School in Mexico City, educator, lecturer of international note, and an authority on Mexican literature.

These are merely a few of the intelligent and cultured women journalists in Mexico today. Each one has some definite goal for which she uses her journalistic talent, and each one has high ideals for her country, its women, and children. Women employed on newspaper or magazine staffs receive the same pay as men in like positions. They have done remarkably well considering their lack of training and that the first school of journalism was not established until 1933.⁵⁰

Although Mexican women have been slower to adopt professions than women in the United States, they take their careers very seriously, and every year more are preparing for them. When they hold public posts, no matter how small, they cause improvement. On May 21, 1922, Dolores Arriaga de Buck was elected magistrate of the Supreme Court of Justice of the state of San Luis Potosí. Her candidacy was supported by the governor, who said that he was glad his state had chosen the first woman judge of the republic.⁵¹ The next year two women, Rosa Torre and Eusebia Pérez, were made members of the city councils of Mérida, and had the support of the *Liga Feminista*,

⁵⁰ Lola Anderson, "Mexican Women Journalists," *Pan American Union Bulletin*, May 1934, Vol. 68, pp. 315-320.

⁵¹ *Pan American Union Bulletin*, August 1922, Vol. 55, p. 199.

similar to the League of Women Voters in the United States.⁵² Soon two women councilors appeared in the municipal council of the capital; one was sent there by the press and the other by the mother's societies of that city. Elvira Carrillo Puerto was the first woman deputy to the national Congress.⁵³

The first woman in Yucatán to obtain the degree of physician, surgeon, and obstetrician from the National University of the Southwest in Mérida was Consuelo Vadilla, who began in 1930 to practice medicine in her state. In 1934 she obtained the Latin-American Fellowship granted by the American Association of University Women. For two months she worked in a dispensary of Johns Hopkins Hospital, attended lectures in the Medical School, and observed operations. She then went to the Woman's Medical College in Philadelphia, where she was permitted to assist in operations. She received valuable training in the United States along the line desired and returned to her country to put it into effect.⁵⁴

There are now many women doctors in Mexico. Already in 1931 the *Asociación Médica Femenina*, of which Antonia Urzúa was president, had more than thirty members with the degree of doctor in medicine who were carrying on their profession satisfactorily. In the Department of Infant Hygiene Dr. Urzúa was the chief, and had a group of men doctors working under her.⁵⁵

Mexico has the distinction of being the first Latin-American country to honor a woman with the diplomatic appointment of minister, although there have been several women consuls. In 1935 Palma Guillén was chosen minister to Colombia, and was the first feminine diplomat to serve on an American continent in an American republic. She has been director of Secondary Education, professor in the University of Mexico, from which she graduated, holds a number of degrees from foreign universities, among them the University of Paris, has served on several scientific commissions, and at the time of her appointment was in Spain.⁵⁶

In 1939 Aurora Mesa was municipal president of the town of Chilpancingo in the state of Guerrero. She is a charming, soft-voiced woman, who during her short term brought water pipes into the town for the first time, paved the streets, reorganized the schools and hos-

⁵² *Ibid.*, February 1923, Vol. 56, p. 203.

⁵³ Robles de Mendoza, *op. cit.*, pp. 35, 21.

⁵⁴ *Journal of the American Association of University Women*, April 1934, p. 165; January 1936, pp. 94-95.

⁵⁵ Robles de Mendoza, *op. cit.*, pp. 21-22.

⁵⁶ *Pan American Union Bulletin*, April 1935, Vol. 69, pp. 356-359.

pitals, and left money in a formerly empty treasury.⁵⁷ The first judge of delinquent youth in Mexico was Guadalupe Zúñiga, a beautiful and intelligent woman.⁵⁸ On the Supreme Council of Defense and Social Prevention a woman occupied a place among the councilors,⁵⁹ and in Tamaulipas, Magdalena Cárdenas was State Superintendent of Education.⁶⁰

Other women might be mentioned who have been very successful in public life. Only three are listed in *Who's Who in Latin America*. They are Amalia González Caballero de Castillo Ledón; María Enriqueta Camarillo y Roa de Pereyra; and Vera Córdova Luz. The first is a writer and professor especially interested in child welfare. She was a member of the Board of Directors of the National Association of Child Welfare and founded a similar organization for the town of Tepic in the state of Nayarit in 1930. She served on various educational and civic committees, was president of the Club Internacional de Mujeres, and Mexican representative to the Pan American League. She is the author of *Cuando las hojas caen*, as well as various inedited theatrical works, and has published many articles in reviews and periodicals. Señora Pereyra is a writer of novels, poems, and short stories. For her six-volume work entitled *Rosas de la infancia* she was granted the diploma of honor of the Ibero-American Exposition of Seville in 1930. Vera Córdova Luz is a professor and writer on educational subjects.⁶¹

Today the effect of woman's activities is being felt everywhere in Mexico. More women attend the university. By 1925 most of them were already taking courses besides music, and preparing themselves for professions and public life. Out of 2,602 students only 625 took music and 241 fine arts. There were 906 in the department of philosophy and letters for normal graduates and 569 in medicine, including midwifery and nursing, 176 in public administration courses, fifty-nine in chemistry and pharmacy, twenty-one in dentistry, four in law, and one in engineering. Of the 710 graduates of that year only eighty-eight received degrees in music and fine arts.⁶²

Since 1912 schools for girls have been established in arts and crafts, vocational education, trade, commerce and industry. In 1924 Mexico City had five trade schools for young women, and only three for men. The reason that there were only three trade schools for men was that they had a better chance to learn trades outside of schools than women.

⁵⁷ Millan, *op. cit.*, p. 169.

⁵⁸ Robles de Mendoza, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

⁶¹ Percy A. Martin, *Who's Who in Latin America*, Stanford University, 1940.

⁶² *Pan American Union Bulletin*, August 1925, Vol. 59, pt. II, pp. 842-843.

One of the four commercial schools was exclusively for women and it conducted both day and night classes. Many women attended evening schools where they were taught elementary subjects and instructed in the work of various small industries.⁶³

A number of Mexican women are now considered authorities on educational subjects, and are even asked to speak in the United States. In 1929 Adela Palacios, a member of the Normal School faculty in Mexico City, spoke on "Mexico's Educational Program" before the Biennial Convention of the American Association of University Women in New Orleans.⁶⁴

More interest is shown in child welfare and hygiene. In 1922 a Family Welfare Exposition was held, during which villages were visited in two cars provided by the president, and talks made on hygiene, child care, food values, and community activities.⁶⁵ The next year a Children's Aid Society was organized by a group of women in Mexico City, Señora Obregón, the president's wife, being one of them. A home was established for one hundred newsboys and the society was allied with the Humane Society in the United States.⁶⁶

Campaigns have been carried on against illiteracy, and in 1923 Eulalia Guzmán was director of the committee on illiteracy organized under the Department of Public Education. She was very successful in getting six thousand middle-class men and women and two thousand students to volunteer to teach the illiterate. One young woman taught two hundred of them to read and write.⁶⁷

Women have been very active in the crusade for their own social betterment and now the government has become interested in it. In February, 1937, the first National Congress on Industrial Hygiene was held in Mexico City. It was attended by 576 delegates, representing all official departments and many organizations. Over four hundred resolutions were adopted and referred to the proper governmental departments for action.⁶⁸ On June 21 of the same year a Child Welfare Bureau was established as a department of government, to super-

⁶³ *Pan American Union Bulletin*, April 1913, Vol. 36, p. 640; December 1922, Vol. 55, p. 629; October and December 1924, Vol. 58, pt. II, pp. 1059, 1275; December 1916, Vol. 43, p. 805.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, May 1929, Vol. 63, pt. I, p. 634. When Díaz was still president Adela Palacios and her sister Juana were sent to Europe by the Mexican government to study the educational systems of those countries. Today they are considered authorities on educational subjects.

⁶⁵ *Pan American Union Bulletin*, September 1922, Vol. 55, p. 305; December 1922, Vol. 55, p. 634. ⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, April 1923, Vol. 56, p. 415.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, September 1922, Vol. 55, p. 305; June 1923, Vol. 56, pp. 580-581.

⁶⁸ *Pan American Union Bulletin*, June 1937, Vol. 71, p. 511.

vise all social welfare work for mothers and children in public or private institutions.⁶⁹ The next year a League of Mental Hygiene was founded in the capital.⁷⁰ In July, 1939, a National Committee for Mother and Child was established in Mexico City, and Dr. Guillermo Lechuga was made chairman. A hearty response came from all parts of the republic, and the Ministry of Public Health has promised to support the Committee's work for the welfare of the Mexican people.⁷¹ Mexico also has a National Department of Education with a Secretary of Education in the president's cabinet,⁷² and in some respects in the matter of social legislation is ahead of the United States.

Women are now being educated to confront the problems of life, and women's movements, which at first were merely gatherings of higher-class ladies for charitable purposes, have gradually developed considerable independence. Women are now working out their own problems and arousing interest in social betterment, community service, education of the poor, and many other vital questions affecting their country. When they obtain the vote in all parts of the republic, which is at present their chief goal and which, no doubt, is only a matter of time, they will accomplish much for the welfare of their sex and be a decisive factor in human destiny.

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⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, September 1937, Vol. 71, p. 729.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, July 1938, Vol. 72, p. 434.

⁷¹ *Pan American Union Bulletin*, May 1940, pp. 415-416.

⁷² For the work of the department see Moisés Sáenz and Herbert I. Priestley, *Some Mexican Problems* (Chicago, 1926), 64 *et seq.*

SUMMARY OF THE REPORT ON THE ACTIVITIES OF THE INSTITUTE OF LATIN-AMERICAN STUDIES AT THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS, 1940-41

Beginning with the summer session of 1940, an Institute of Latin-American Studies was inaugurated at the University of Texas. The six weeks' program held at the University with the coöperation of the National Committee on Latin-American Studies of the American Council of Learned Societies was the forerunner of a permanent Institute which officially opened at the beginning of the fall semester at the University in September, 1940. The committee in charge of the Institute, headed by President Homer P. Rainey of the University of Texas, is working under the premises that "few problems facing our country are more immediately important than the advancement of our cultural relations with the people of Latin America," and the Institute of Latin-American studies follows their specific suggestions regarding activities which bear "reasonable promise of early results."

Under President Homer P. Rainey, the executive committee, which directs the functions of the Institute, is composed of Dr. Charles Wilson Hackett, chairman, Professor of Latin-American History; Dr. Albert Perley Brogan, Professor of Philosophy, Dean of the Graduate School; Mr. Donald Coney, Librarian; Dr. George Charles Marius Engerrand, Professor of Anthropology; Dr. John Lloyd Mecham, Professor of Government; Dr. Jefferson Rea Spell, Associate Professor of Romance Languages; Dr. George Ward Stocking, Professor of Economics.

An account of the scope and success of the Institute's initial venture during the summer of 1940 was published in *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, XX, No. 4 (1940), pp. 650-654; it is the purpose of this review, based on a report by Dr. Hackett, to summarize the rapidly expanding activities of the Institute during its fiscal year of September 1, 1940, to August 31, 1941.

The achievements of this latter period fall into three broad categories: classroom instruction; the program for the expansion of Latin-American activities at the University of Texas through federal funds made available by the Coördinator of Commercial and Cultural Relations between the American Republics, Mr. Nelson Rockefeller; and other miscellaneous functions. All of these activities were designed as

aids to the general objective of promoting better cultural relations with the other American Republics.

In the sphere of classroom instruction, twelve distinct courses of Latin-American content, each meeting three hours weekly, were offered during the fall semester of 1940. These covered eight separate fields of learning: art, business administration, education, geology, government, history, Portuguese, and Spanish. The number of courses was increased to fifteen in the spring semester of 1941 and embraced the same eight fields with the addition of anthropology. Eighteen members of the staff gave time to these courses.

During two six-week summer sessions in 1941, fifteen two-semester-hour courses, administered by eight instructors, were made available.

Although there are numerous related courses which supplement and bear upon this field, the following are designated specifically as Latin-American Content Courses and are included in the present curriculum of the University:

ANTHROPOLOGY

- 329, Mexico
- 339, Races, Peoples, and Languages of South America
- 98, Thesis Course for Master's Degree

BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION

- 352, Latin-American Resources and Trade
- 98, Thesis Course for Master's Degree
- 99, Thesis Course for Doctor's Degree

ECONOMICS

- 338, Survey of the Economy of Mexico
- 98, Thesis Course for Master's Degree
- 99, Thesis Course for Doctor's Degree

EDUCATION

- 362K, Education in Mexico
- 363K, Education in Latin America
- 364P, The Education of the Spanish-Speaking Child
- 98, Thesis Course for Master's Degree
- 99, Thesis Course for Doctor's Degree

FINE ARTS

- Art 326, Art of the Americas
- Music 335, South-American Music

GEOLOGY

- 34, Physiography and Geology of South America
- 98, Thesis Course for Master's Degree.
- 99, Thesis Course for Doctor's Degree

GOVERNMENT

333, The Foreign Policies of the United States: Latin America
372, The Governments and Politics of Latin America
80, Problems in American Diplomacy and Latin-American Governments
98, Thesis Course for Master's Degree
99, Thesis Course for Doctor's Degree

HISTORY

46, History of South America
47, History of Mexico and Spanish North America
86, Seminar in Latin-American History
98, Thesis Course for Master's Degree
99, Thesis Course for Doctor's Degree

PORTUGUESE

25, Portuguese and Brazilian Literature

SPANISH

324, Literary History of Mexico
25, Spanish-American Literature
341, Contemporary Spanish-American Prose
343, Contemporary Drama and Poetry of Spanish America
61, Nineteenth-Century Argentine Literature
80, Studies in Spanish-American Literature
98, Thesis Course for Master's Degree
99, Thesis Course for Doctor's Degree

Separate from these above-mentioned fields of study made available at the University of Texas itself, was the Laboratory Field School at Laredo, in which the Institute coöperated with the educational departments of the University and the Laredo Public School System. The Field School was designed to provide "a workshop plan of instruction for advanced and graduate students interested in Latin-American children and Latin-American culture in the American School." Courses offered at Laredo included Field Studies in Latin-American Education and a Seminar in the Education of Spanish-Speaking Children. A total of 109 students enrolled.

A grand total of 694 students was registered in one or more of the forty courses given during the fall, spring, and two summer terms. Class enrollment in all of these Latin-American content courses at the University was 798, because some students registered for more than one course. With the addition of the 109 students taking the education work at Laredo, a total of 907 was reached for the fiscal year of 1940-1941. These figures represent only those registered in regular classes, and do not take into account students taking thesis courses for the Master's degree, or those taking doctoral dissertation work.

According to the latest survey of the Pan-American Union (*Latin-*

American Studies in American Institutions of Higher Learning; Academic Year 1938-1939—Division of Intellectual Coöperation, Pan American Union, Washington, D. C.), 17,801 students were enrolled in 981 Latin-American content courses offered by 383 institutions of higher learning in the United States and its possessions. The University of Texas, therefore, has slightly over five per cent of the total on the basis of the 1938-1939 figures.

It is worth observing that ninety-one Hispanic-American students attended the University of Texas in the fall semester of 1940. Sixty-six of these were from Mexico.

As was previously mentioned, the United States government, through the Coöordinator of Inter-American Affairs, is aiding in the expansion of the program of the Institute at Texas. The sum of \$37,500 was made available for a period of sixteen months beginning March 1, 1941, for special projects planned by the Institute. These projects and the amounts allotted to each are:

- a. A visiting professorship in a Latin-American field of learning (\$6,500).
- b. Post-doctoral research fellowships in the field of Latin-American studies (\$5,000).
- c. Publication of the results of research work of post-doctoral fellows, and other research work conducted by the Institute (\$3,000).
- d. Special lectures given by Spanish-American educators (\$3,000).
- e. Library and research materials (\$9,000).
- f. Traveling expenses and exchange professorships (\$8,000).
- g. Administrative salaries and expenses (\$2,000).
- h. An additional \$1,000 has been reserved for later allocation.

Both the Laredo Field School summer session and the regular fall and spring semesters benefited from the provisions made for visiting professors. Harold Dean Gresham, Senior Economist of the United States Tariff Commission and former tariff advisor to the Paraguayan government, was appointed visiting Professor of Business Administration for the year 1941-1942. Dr. Marie H. Hughes, Curriculum Coöordinator of Los Angeles County, California, was the visiting professor at the Laredo Field School.

Four post-doctoral fellowships in Latin-American studies have been granted for research in anthropology, political science, and literature, as well as for preparation of a series of broadcasts for Texas and Mexico. Recipients of these are: Dr. Marcus S. Goldstein, Dr. Ward Morton, Dr. J. R. Spell, and Dr. Alvin Chapman.

Dr. Goldstein, former aid to Dr. Aleš Hrdlička, Curator of Physical Anthropology in the United States National Museum and who has had

previous field experience in Southwestern physical anthropology, is making an anthropological study of Mexicans and other Latin Americans who have lived in Texas for some generations for the purpose of: "(1) checking the possibility of modifications occurring in presumably hereditary stable physical characters as a result of changes in environment; and (2) noting the limits of such modifications, if occurring, and the possibility of their expansion under varying environmental circumstances."

Dr. Ward Morton, Instructor in Political Science at the University of Arkansas, is continuing a study undertaken at the University of Texas. His project, under the title, "Government Control of Business Enterprise in Mexico under the Constitution of 1917," will emphasize research on Mexican control of finance.

A series of essays on outstanding novelists of Spanish America is the plan of Dr. J. R. Spell, Associate Professor of Romance Languages at the University of Texas. The series has been under way since 1937, and Dr. Spell visited Bogotá and Quito during the summer of 1941 under terms of the fellowship grant to obtain necessary material and interviews from prominent literary figures. He was also to establish contacts for the purchase of Latin-American materials.

The fourth post-doctoral fellowship grant was made to Dr. Alvin Chapman, Director of Research in Education by Radio at the University of Texas, for the purpose of doing research to provide background for a radio series entitled "Know Your Neighbor," designed to promote better understanding between people of the Southwest and Mexico.

It is planned to publish the results of the work completed by these post-doctoral fellows. In addition, funds were allotted for the publication of a *Handbook for Translators of Spanish Historical Documents*, by Mr. J. V. Haggard. The work is based on the author's ten years of experience as a translator in the Spanish Archives of Texas, and serves as a practical guide for students in this field.

Under the classification of special lectures by Spanish-American educators, provision was made for lectures by Dr. Pedro A. Cebollero. These were given at the 1941 summer sessions of the Institute of Latin-American Studies, both at the University of Texas and at the Laredo Field School. Dr. Cebollero, educated in the United States, has served as Sub-Commissioner of Education in Puerto Rico and as administrative assistant (and Professor of Education at the National Teachers College) in the Ministry of Education in Venezuela. He is now Professor of Education at the National University of Panama and Chief of the Technical Department of the Ministry of National Education of Panama.

Provisions are also made for individual lectures by noted Hispanic Americans. They have recently included such men as Dr. Pablo Martínez del Río and Lic. Carlos Sánchez-Navarro, prominent Mexican historians; radio addresses as well as technical aid for the "Know Your Neighbor" broadcasts by Señor Ignacio García Zavala, special representative of the Mexican government. It is expected that many other distinguished men will be able to lecture at Texas under this program.

Librarian Donald Coney was placed in charge of the project for the purchase of library and research material in the Latin-American field, for which \$9,000 was allocated. The funds are being used to augment the already large collections at Texas.

Other funds enabled Professors Charles W. Hackett and J. Lloyd Mecham to attend the Third General Assembly of the Pan-American Institute of Geography and History, held at Lima, Peru, in the spring of 1941. Dr. Hackett attended as official delegate of the United States government, while Dr. Mecham represented the University of Texas. Other assignments under the heading of traveling expenses were made for a project in compiling a photographic catalogue of Mexican colonial painting under the direction of Assistant Professor of Art, Gibson Danes, and for the cataloguing and photographing of colonial Mexican church music by Albert T. Luper, Instructor of Music at Texas.

Of a different nature is the proposed exchange of professors under the terms of the federal grant. Exchanges between the School of Architecture at the University of Texas and that of the National School of Engineering at Lima, and the exchange of a professor of American literature with a professor of Hispanic-American literature were being arranged at the time of the preparation of the report.

The "miscellaneous activities" of the Institute of Latin-American Studies are varied in their approach toward the promotion of better understanding. One function of the Institute is to award scholarships to Latin-American students at the University. Eleven undergraduate scholarships and two graduate fellowships were given on the basis of the Institute's recommendations.

Members of the staff of the Institute prepared a memorandum "setting forth their views on the question of cultural relations between the two continents" at the request of the Coördinator of Inter-American Affairs. In general, the suggestions called for a more satisfactory arrangement by which educators of the different countries could discuss and exchange ideas. Means to this end were to be "non-official, professional conferences" sponsored in the various countries. Other proposals to the Coördinator were for subsidization of travel for

professors and students, special conferences on Latin-American affairs in various parts of the United States, at which foreign scholars would become acquainted with different sections of the nation; publication of Latin-American classics; promotion of an inter-American student association; presentation of outstanding examples of art and music from all southern countries; facilitation of the exchange of United States and Latin-American printed materials, including securing more nearly adequate book-trade information; United States government aid to Latin-American governments in the teaching of English; the sending of traveling exhibits through Latin America and especially to the smaller centers; that the national and regional libraries of Latin America be catalogued and that catalogue cards, with duplicates, be printed for distribution among leading libraries of the United States.

Another of the "miscellaneous" activities is coöperation with the Department of State in the entertaining of prominent educational, professional, and artistic leaders from the other American republics. During the spring of 1941 four guests were entertained by the Institute: Dr. Enrique de Gandía, celebrated Argentine historian; Dr. Armando Acosta y Lara, Director General and President of the National Council of Secondary Teaching of Uruguay; Dr. José Luis Zorrilla de San Martín, distinguished Uruguayan sculptor and painter; Dr. Vito Alessio Robles, noted Mexican historian, educator, and publicist.

Also at the suggestion of the Department of State, the Institute compiled a list of graduate students and staff members of the University qualified for service in Latin America. In coöperation with the College of Engineering of the University of Texas, the Institute has published attractive illustrated bulletins both in Spanish and Portuguese. In August, 1941, the Institute sponsored and conducted a short educational good-will tour of Mexico.

PARK F. WOLLAM.

Berkeley, California.

A STYLE SHEET FOR
THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW

General

The *Review* follows the usage preferred by the University of Chicago Press *A Manual of Style* (tenth edition, 1937) where this form sheet is not at variance with it and where exceptional conditions do not require special decisions.

Footnotes

The notes should be indicated with a raised Arabic numeral, should be consecutive throughout the article, and should be double-spaced. In case of a reference to a quotation, the number should come at the end of the quoted matter and not at the introduction to it. The note should be run immediately after the line of text where the citation occurs and should be separated from the text above and below by lines across the entire page made with repeated periods or the underlining key. In the citation of books full bibliographical information, including series and volume in it, should be given in the first citation, but the name of the publisher is necessary only in instances where it has some bearing on the treatment. References to pages of works of only one volume are indicated by "p." or "pp." for inclusive citations (first and final page): thus, "pp. 226-238," not "pp. 226 ff." or, except in a very general reference, "pp. 226 *et seq.*" Since it is desirable to make footnotes as brief as possible, repeated citations of a given book may be indicated by the surname and *op. cit.*, although for the sake of clarity long titles may be referred to in a shortened form after the first instance. A citation to support a citation or statement in notes, i.e., a note within a note, is parenthesized.

Examples of citations of books and manuscripts in footnotes:

¹ George E. Nunn, *The Geographical Conceptions of Columbus* (New York, 1924), p. 54.

² Francisco Bauzá, *Historia de la dominación española en el Uruguay* (3 vols., Montevideo, 1895-1897), II, 193.

³ *Ibid.*, II, 194-195.

⁴ Nunn, *op. cit.*, pp. 154-156, 159 n.

⁵ William R. Manning, ed., *Diplomatic Correspondence Concerning the Independence of the Latin-American Nations* (3 vols., New York, 1925), II, 51.

⁶ *Senate Executive Documents*, 40 Cong., 2 Sess., I, No. 38, p. 61.

⁷ Casa Irujo to José Vidal, Philadelphia, November 7, 1806, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Sección de Estado, legajo 5554, expediente 1.

⁸ *Idem to idem*, April 13, 1816, AHN, Estado, leg. 5554, exp. 12.

In the citation of periodicals it is not necessary to insert *in* between the title of the article and the title of the journal except where doubt might otherwise arise.

Examples of citations of periodicals and newspapers:

¹ William Spence Robertson, "The Recognition of the Hispanic-American Nations by the United States," *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, I (1918), 266.

² Gustavo Adolfo Mejía, "José María Heredia y sus obras," *Revista bimestre cubana*, XLIV (1938), 377.

³ Robertson, "Recognition," *loc. cit.*, I, 267.

⁴ London *Daily Chronicle*, December 1, 1941, p. 6.

⁵ *The New York Times*, December 7, 1941, pt. 2, p. 2.

Book Reviews

The headings of book reviews are designed to give the bibliographer and the prospective buyer the most complete technical information possible. The titles of the books are entered in italics, but sets of books in which they appear are not italicized in review headings except for special reasons and they are arbitrarily set in brackets. Since many books from abroad are reviewed in the *Hispanic*, the type of binding of foreign books should always be mentioned. Vital information such as the number of maps, charts, or illustrations should be inserted between the number of pages and the price in the heading.

Examples of book review headings:

Diplomacy of the Borderlands: The Adams-Onís Treaty of 1819. By Philip Coolidge Brooks. [University of California Publications in History, Vol. 24.] (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1939. Pp. x, 262. Cloth, \$2.50; paper, \$2.00.)

The All-American Front. By Duncan Aikman. (New York: Doubleday, Doran, 1940. Pp. 344. \$3.00.)

Economic Relations with Latin America. Edited by D. M. Phelps. [Michigan Business Papers, No. 6.] (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1940. Pp. 75. \$1.00.)

De encomiendas y propiedad territorial en algunas regiones de la América Española. By Silvio Zavala. (Mexico: Antigua Librería de Robredo de José Porrúa é Hijos, 1940. Pp. 86. Paper, \$2.50 m/n.)

1. Quotations.

General Mechanics

All quotations which require as much as five printed lines should be indented and typed single-space without quotation marks. A quotation within such a quotation should be indicated by the quotation marks in the original passage. Quotations of less than five printed lines should be run in double quotation marks in the same type and format as the article in which they are quoted.

Omission of matter from a quotation within a sentence should be indicated by three periods together with any punctuation occurring before or after the deleted part. Thus an omission of matter at the end of a sentence is indicated with four dots.

The editors of the *Review* insist that all quotations and documents edited and printed should be collated with the originals in the manuscript stage. Barring this, such collation should be undertaken while the work is in galley-proof stage. This is a vitally important safeguard in which the managing editor cannot always nor conveniently protect contributors.

2. Punctuation.

Commas should be inserted before and after the year in citing dates: thus, July 4, 1776, was the day.

In a series use a comma before *and*: thus, the Public Record Office, the Archivo General de Indias, and the Archivo General de Simancas.

In quotations the period and comma come within the final quotations, but the semicolon is placed outside. The exclamation point and question mark are placed inside the quotation marks only when they are integral parts of the quotation.

Brackets should be used to make insertions within quotations, within parentheses, or to avoid confusion with parentheses.

Hyphenate such words as *Latin-American*, *Hispanic-American*, (except in the title of this *Review*), *Pan-American*, *Spanish-American*, but do not hyphenate *Latin America*, etc.

3. Italics and roman.

Foreign words and phrases should be indicated in manuscript by underlining and in print by italics, but quotations from foreign languages are run in roman. The editors of *The Hispanic American Historical Review* regard the following words as anglicized:

armada*	cabildo	gaucho*
arroyo*	caudillo	junta*
audiencia	cedula*	padre*
burro*	conquistador*	presidio
	encomienda	

* Anglicization sanctioned by Webster.

Do not italicize the names of institutions in a foreign language unless they are part of a title taking italics for other reasons: thus,

Centro de Estudios Americanistas
Universidad Nacional de Córdoba
Sociedade de Geographia de Lisboa
Boletim da Sociedade de Geographia de Lisboa

Instead of italics use roman for the titles of manuscripts and the following: cf., e.g., etc., per cent, via, vice versa, viz., i.e. Use italics for names of ships and for *circa*, *ibid.*, *idem*, *loc. cit.*, *op. cit.*, *passim*, *sic*.

4. Spelling and abbreviations, etc.

Spellings should be taken from a standard American dictionary. Avoid anglicisms such as *favour* and *civilise*, and thus differentiate between words ending in *ise* and *ize* in American usage.

Dieresis should be used in words compounded of a prefix which results in a doubled letter: thus, *reënforce*, *coöperate*, and not *re-enforce* and *co-operate* or *reenforce* and *cooperate*.

Foreign words and phrases carry the accents of the language from which they come until they are anglicized except in verbatim quotations where they were left off in the original. Names of countries accented in Spanish do not take the accent in English texts: thus, Peru and Panama, not Perú and Panamá. Accents are optional on capital letters in Spanish, but since many English readers cannot supply them when they are left off for esthetic reasons, appearance is sacrificed to clarity: thus, *Álvarez*, not *Alvarez*.

Do not abbreviate the titles of periodicals cited or the months of the year. Academic titles and distinctions as "Dr." and "Professor" should be used only when the distinction is essential. In any event, "Mr." should be used in all subsequent references.

Write out any isolated Arabic numerals which require less than three words to express: thus, five gauchos and twenty-five horses. In a series of figures, however, all numerals are written out for the sake of consistency and appearance, especially if some of these figures should require more than the minimum number of words to express: thus, 1, 5, 15, 45, 135, 405. No sentence should begin with an Arabic numeral.

5. Capitalization.

No words except proper nouns in the titles of modern Spanish books should be capitalized. Exception can be made in the case of old books (*ante* 1800) of another era of orthography and format. The usage in modern English titles is fluctuating, with the Library of Congress in the vanguard of those capitalizing nothing save proper

names. The editors of the *Hispanic* prefer capital initial letters for all words except articles and prepositions in English-language titles. Observe the practice in the examples of the footnotes.

Many words which, when used in their generic sense, do not require capitalization, take capitals when they precede personal names: thus, "president," and "President Roosevelt." The king of Spain, for example, should be written "King of Spain" if the reference is to Philip II. Thus it is not necessary to capitalize the Spanish empire or the British empire, but in the case of formally named organizations or entities it is correct to write the "Britannic Imperial Commonwealth of Nations." Government departments and divisions take capitals where specifically designated. There is no all-embracing rule, but it must be remembered that the drift is toward less capitalization. The editor will be forced to make decisions in manuscripts submitted to maintain consistency.

Capitalize Volume, Series, Number, or Box when followed by a numeral. Thus, Vol. 121.

6. Identification and index.

Every name introduced into articles should be identified by the full name: thus, José García Hernández, not García, or worse still, Hernández. This clarification is even more important in Portuguese names than in English or even Spanish and is vital for the reader and a life-saver for the editor and indexer. It is frequently desirable to put the birth and death dates of figures introduced immediately after their names. In case a term of office is clearly the period understood and uppermost, this should be indicated in the same way: thus, Juan García (1750-1813). Each contributor should mark a reprint of his article (supplied from the office of the *Hispanic*) for name-indexing by marking in red under surnames as they are to be entered in the index and under given names in blue to give the editor an additional check: thus, Manuel Gómez Pedraza, Thomé de Souza.

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